CAPITAL AND LABOR

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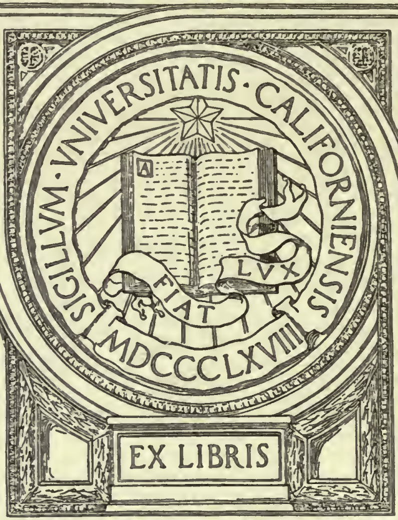
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CAPITAL
AND
LABOR

BY

REV. W. S. HARRIS

WHOSE BOOKS
ARE IN A HALF MILLION HOMES.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

Illustrated by
PAUL KRAFFT

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UNION LABEL

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To the Milions of Honest Toilers Who Are Praying for Liberty From the Industrial Bondage Into Which Monopoly and Competition Have Forced Them, This Book is Dedicated.

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PREFACE

The burning question of the Twentieth Century is the one that relates to the struggle between Capital and Labor. All people are interested in this great issue, inasmuch as it affects the income and expenses of each family and will decide the destiny of the rich and of the poor. Capital is strong in money and brains, while Labor in addition to its mental power is especially strong in men and muscles, and each side is contending for the mastery of the field.

It is not hard to find the cause of this unhappy strife. A little reflection and observation reveal an alarming condition of things in our country. We see the great corporations and monopolies heartlessly grabbing the lion's share, and with rapacious greed they are swallowing the whole country at a steadily increasing rate. We also see the arms of the octopus Graft fastening themselves upon every part of our fair land.

On the other hand, we see the vast army of workers grinding their lives away at hard toil and ever getting the deepest cut from the competitive whip, and suffering from a fiendish partiality at the hands of the lawmakers. These workers are tantalized by a taste of refined life, but they are unable to earn enough to live such a life. They have not been blind to the fact that the rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer, just because monopolistic oppression has raised the prices on the one side more rapidly than it has raised wages on the other side.

Under the whip of monopolistic slavemasters, the host of common people, generally known as laborers, are getting deeper and deeper into bondage. This has given rise to widespread discontent among workingmen, which has found its expression in various kinds of Labor Organizations and also in such revolutionary measures as Strikes and Boycotts.

This movement on the part of Labor was perhaps the most fortunate thing that could have happened; for, if capitalistic oppression had continued unchecked for a few decades more, by this time, the nation would be owned and controlled by a few great moguls, and the great bulk of humanity would be reduced to a new type of slavery even more abject than the kind under which we now suffer.

The rising of Labor against Capital has revealed the low spirit of the greed of Monopoly. The workers have found that if they wish to shake off the fetters which bind them, they must push their own campaign with vigor, and dig out their own path to liberty.

When one man earns so much money that he does not know how to invest it, and the other man earns so little money that he does not know how to get enough to eat, then the time has arrived to call a halt; and who will do this unless the people as a mass rise up and offer their protest and make their demand for an economic change. The earth yields enough to feed and clothe everybody, and if we can subtract from the amount of work done to-day, the useless labor spent by reason of competition, it will then be possible for everybody to receive the reasonable comforts and luxuries of life; and to do this, no one would be required to work more than five or seven hours a day under the reign of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

It is impossible in a brief foreword to outline the remedies suggested in this book. The reader interested in this matter must look at the chapters that take up this phase of the question. It is easy and natural to doubt, but the practicability of pure socialistic principles is readily apparent to anyone who will investigate the workings of Municipal Ownership, and the operations of our socialistic post-office system.

We have spent considerable time in investigation in order to gather facts and figures for this book; and it would be impossible to enumerate the many sources from which help has been derived. The library of modern Socialism is very extensive, which in itself, is an indication of the drift of the age. Social economics is a study that has come to stay. Many of the world's greatest thinkers are seriously studying the problems that arise in connection with the suffering masses and the favored classes.

The illustrations are the product of the ingenious mind and artful hand of Paul J. Krafft. He has readily caught the spirit of the book and has forcibly portrayed its thought in the beautiful chapter headings, pen sketches and half-tones that adorn this volume.

We have not been unduly ambitious in writing this book expecting that it would turn the world upside down, but we had hoped that it would have some influence in uplifting the general masses of humanity upon a higher level, even if it should become necessary to bring some of the higher classes of Society upon a more common level. If this book will in any degree accomplish this end, the author will feel amply repaid for the many months of work which he spent in preparing it for the market.

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION

In placing the volume "Capital and Labor" upon the book market of the world, we believe we are doing a valuable service for all mankind. The indications of Social unrest are everywhere clearly seen, and we cannot be indifferent to the stupendous conflict now waging between the great power of Monopoly and the struggling mass of workers. The taunting extravagances of the rich and the miseries of the grovelling poor cannot be forever tolerated in any free country. These dangerous extremes in our national life must be abolished, and it should be done in an equitable manner.

This book gives a graphic description of present conditions as they exist among all grades of workers and also among the wealthy classes. The spirit of Monopoly is laid bare; its deceitful mask is torn aside, giving the reader a full view of this monstrosity that hopes to feed forever on the sacrifices of our millions of toilers.

Perhaps nothing will appeal to the reader more than the fair and candid manner in which the author considers the various phases of this complicated question. Many readers will be astonished to learn how cruel a master competition continues to be to the people. The book makes a strong plea to free the millions of our wage earners from the enslavement into which abused liberty has forced them.

One noticeable thing about this book is the logical and impartial manner in which the author proceeds from step to step in his argument. He discounts anarchy, revolution and other similar instruments, and urges that the battle shall be won by regular and lawful means, looking forward to a final redemption by a change in our system of economics.

The book does not abound in gloomy forebodings or pessimistic utterances. It digs a path to the sunlight of emancipation and shows the human race a way out of the misery into which the slavelords of competition have whipped the masses. There is an inspiration in the happy thought of a race redeemed from Social bondage, and this is the thrill of delight with which the book closes.

The illustrations are of the finest quality, being the work of the deservedly famous artist, Paul Krafft of New York. Each production is original and with great care was drawn expressly for this volume, thus supplementing the valuable chapters of the book.

Concerning the author, little need be said as his name has already appeared in connection with other popular books. Only one who is accustomed to study and analyze a subject carefully could have written a volume of this kind. He is a genius in the book-writing world, and his millions of readers will welcome this his latest production. His writings are fascinating and stand alone in all the range of fact and fiction.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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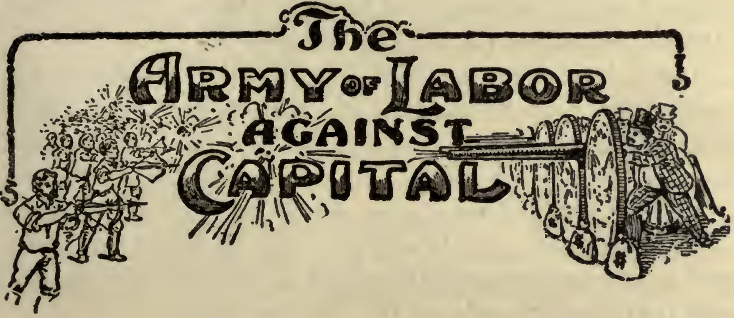
CHAPTER I.



I.—THE GREATEST BATTLE OF THE AGES.

The world is yet young, and it shall see more of its manhood in the next one hundred years than ever before. All the by-gone ages are stepping stones to the golden future, which will so outshine the past that it will be a crown of glory to the world's history.

Since man has lived upon the earth, many great questions have been settled; some by sharp debates in Congress; others by great political campaigns, and still others by decisive battles in which thousands of human lives were sacrificed. One of the great conflicts between man and man which has never reached a final settlement, is the strife between the employer and the employed; or, in more general terms, between Capital and Labor.

The battle has been long drawn out, dating back to the time when the Egyptians laid the lash upon their slaves. Nation after nation, as it advanced in the scale of civilization, has had more or less a part in the conflict. Such life as is pictured in the Patricians and Plebeians of Rome, or in the caste life of India, or in the slavery of the olden, or of modern times, is a sad and terrible comment on human history.

The laborer has entered his complaint against the capitalists, contending that his rights have been trampled under foot, and that he has not received a sufficient return for his toil. In return, the capitalist ingeniously denies the charge, declaring that the worker is unreasonable in his claims, and is never satisfied, and that concessions on the part of capital only encourage further demands on the part of labor.

Out of such, and similar counter charges, there has arisen a sharp antagonism, which has already shown its ominous front at many places. The lines are being more clearly and tightly drawn every year; and, while the optimist sees nothing but peace and prosperity under our present system, others can see with a prophetic eye, the coming transformation of society, in which all present social conditions will be changed, the power of Monopoly crushed, and the gates of a new Eden opened to all classes of workers. The regiments of this great labor army have already crept over the dark ravine, and will continue storming the breastworks of the enemy until their cause shall not only be recognized, but until complete victory shall be perched upon their banners.

The issues involved in this conflict are not to be winked at nor brushed aside with a smile. There are serious problems to solve, and the question will never be settled until it is settled rightly. May the final and decisive battle be a bloodless one, fought out with the pen, press, and the ballot.

The side called Labor can count upon its millions of men, while the other side can boast of its millions of money. It is plainly evident that this famous conflict is one of man against money, or a small army with great resources, arrayed against a numberless army with limited resources at present. By reason of the handicap of Labor these two great forces are now so evenly balanced, that the conflict wages at one time in favor of Capital, and then again in favor of Labor. The details of the passing struggle are full of interest and terror; and each year is marked with endless discussions, riots, strikes, and also with arbitration on a large or a small scale, or conferences between the employer and the employed. Each one of these powerful combatants has, at certain times, stepped to extremes, and, therefore, has been censured by the general public.

During the disputes of the past, justice suffered many a blow, because certain leaders of Capital and Labor, each in their turn, worshipped the god of selfishness under the light of a false star, and yet, amid all this, the great cause of human rights has forged ahead, and its devotees are steadily climbing the steps to the summit of the mount of victory. The social question is the monumental question of the age, and certain captains of industry and labor chiefs are free in expressing their opinions as to the best methods of settling it. There are, also, not a few radicals on each side who are extraordinary in their utterances, while there are only a few, comparatively, who look carefully at both sides, and with the Golden Rule in sight, offer a solution to the great question.

There never was a time since man's creation when the Golden Rule, as taught by Christ, should be practiced more than now. If there is to be any solution that will last, it must be worked out on the basis of each doing to the other as he would like to have the other do to him. When this Rule operates, love increases, and also, as love increases, this Rule will be observed.

The Devil aims to destroy the influence of this beautiful and powerful rule, both in the church and in the world, for he knows that when it becomes operative, earth gradually becomes more and more like heaven.

II.—THE SOLVING OF OTHER GREAT QUESTIONS.

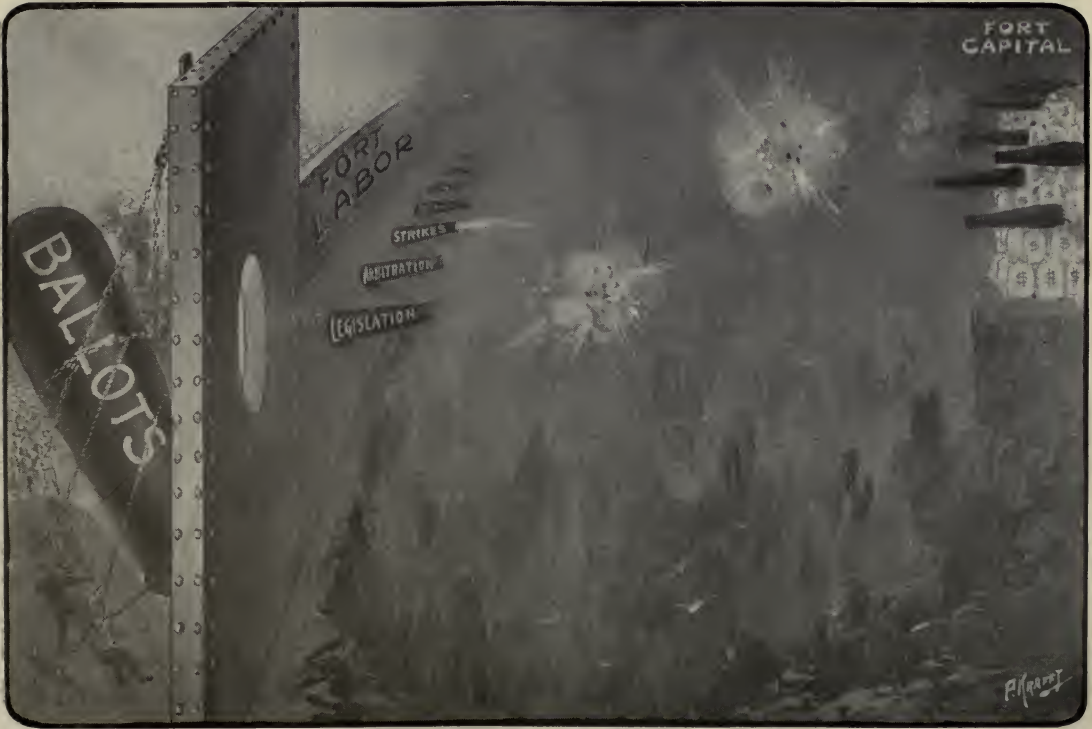
Great problems are not solved in a few years, but they require some sacrifice, and often long years of patience and struggle. Over nineteen hundred years ago, the leading thought of the world was Redemption. In all civilized localities the pulse of this living issue was felt, and it made kings tremble on their thrones. There was a feeling of unrest as the great elements of power by the miracle working Christ became known, and the world soon awoke to learn that a mighty Prince was in their midst, and that Redemption was at hand.

About five hundred years ago, the world was again turned upside down by an unusual revolution. It was the question of liberty in church and state. The burning of John Huss kindled the fires of enthusiasm all over Europe. Luther caught some of this flame, and he dashed forth as a hero of his times. The same enthusiasm burned in the soul of Savonarola. It also moved the heart of great Cromwell, and nerved his arm to strike the deadliest blow of his age; for with a courage born of high conviction, he dashed to pieces the divine right of kings, which had cursed the age with its iron heel. This same great idea of liberty moved the hearts of the Pilgrim Fathers, and resulted in their landing at Plymouth Rock, thus bringing to the shores of America the finest blood and the noblest inspiration of the world.

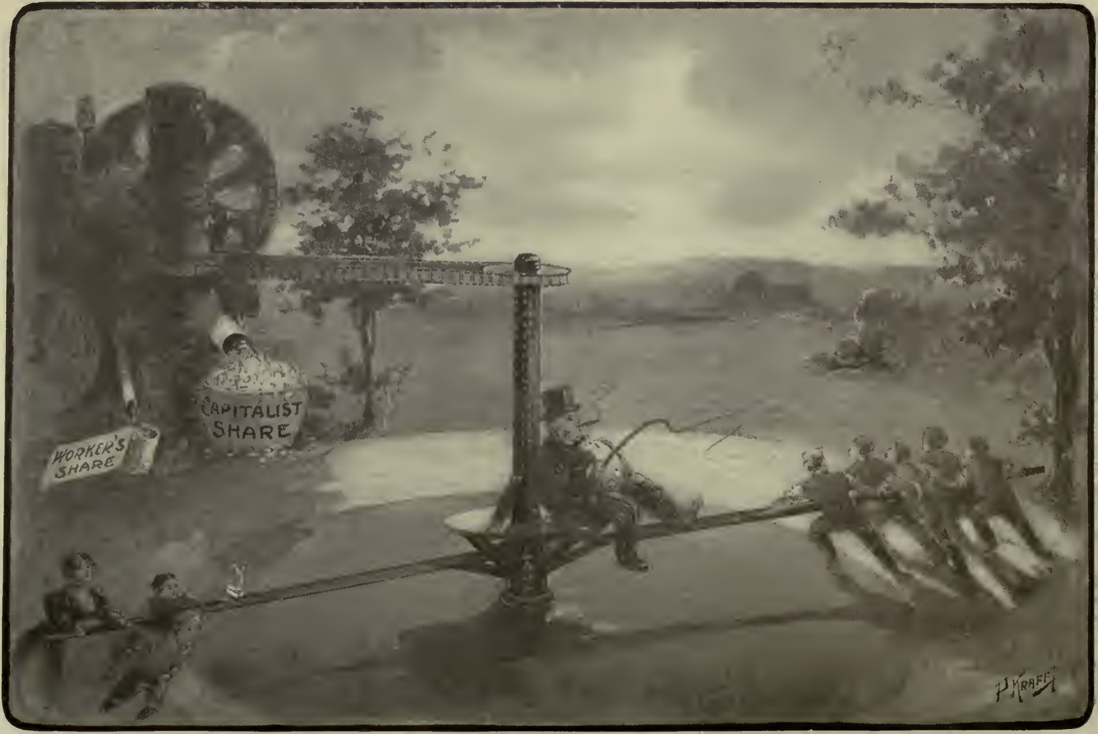
At the present time, there are other great questions to be settled, such as Intemperance and the question of Divorce, but the issue that is pushing itself to the front for first consideration, is the great question of Social Reform. Before this is finally settled, humanity may be called upon to go through a more severe trial than ever. Perhaps the man is now living who will marshal the labor army for victory; or perhaps there is a child born into the world to-day, toward whom the guiding star is now moving, and who may be the real leader of the world's social wisdom to the Bethlehem of Peace.

The specially drawn picture on the opposite page is a strong representation of the strife between Capital and Labor. For many ages Labor has been firing with the Guns of Legislation, Arbitration and has been using many other similar weapons. But all this warfare has not won enough for the cause of Labor. The strike Gun has been used with some effect but after every encounter the Fort of Capital has been able to repair the damage sufficiently to continue its severe campaign.

The leaders of Labor have long ago urged the placing of a new Gun into position called "Ballots." When this is once swung into position, it will have a deadly effect on the opposition and will win the victory for Labor. Just how long it will take the workingmen to get this Gun into proper action, no one can tell, but according to present indications, this will soon be accomplished.


FORT CAPITAL
FORT LABOR
STRIKES
ARBITRATION
LEGISLATION
BALLOTS

Fort Labor and Fort Capital.—The battle between Labor and Capital is waging hotter each year. Labor has been firing with the "Strike Guns" and with other guns. When Labor places the new gun called "Ballots" into position, then its victory will be won.


WORKER'S SHARE
CAPITALIST SHARE
P. KRAFFT

Capital and Labor Machine.—This picture represents The Greatest Crime of the Age. Men, women and children are wearing their lives away to get the tail-end share of the product of their labor, while he who wields the whip gets the biggest pile.

CHAPTER II.

THE
DIGNITY
OF
LABOR

I.—LABOR AND IDLENESS.

Labor is of divine origin, and no man should be ashamed that he is a workman. It is necessary for the perpetuation of the human family that certain work be performed, and the greater the civilization of the people, the greater variety of labor there will be to do. Carlyle has well said: "In all true work, * * * there is something of divineness." Listen also to the beautiful words of Dr. A. T. Wolf, "Labor is honorable; God has set his seal upon it. Jesus Christ, the world's Saviour, was a carpenter. Paul, the great apostle, was a tent maker. To-day, every male member of the German Royal Family learns a trade. The laboring man is thy brother."

The Creator intended that man should be engaged in useful work. He made Adam, and put him into the Garden of Eden *to dress and to keep it;* and not merely to eat and idle his time away. All the righteous labor of man is the indirect creation of God, and is honored by Him. Although man does not win his redemption by natural or spiritual work alone, yet in order to be a subject for Heaven, he must be a worker in both spheres.

Idleness and laziness breed poverty, disease and death, and are contrary to the best state of man, individually or collectively. In the wake of laziness, you will find frivolity, immorality, crime and other kindred evils.

He is not a man who refuses to do his share of work, and he who is able to work and will not work, is the lowest kind of a slave, and the greatest enemy to human welfare. The most worthless and thriftless classes of all humanity are found in the idlers at the two extremes of society. The one class is composed of the ranging tramps, forever evading work, and the other is that arrogant aristocracy that idly rolls in luxury through money obtained by speculation, extortion or inheritance.

It was a healthy piece of advice that the Scotch doctor gave to a wealthy lady. She was really not afflicted with any disease, and yet she thought she needed the doctor's attention, so it was easy and safe to prescribe for her. One day she complained of insomnia, and the doctor, losing patience, said: "Madam, if you would have a good night's rest, you must live on sixpence a day and earn it." So we would advise all worthless idlers to earn what they eat, for in so doing, they shall have a new life of happiness and contentment.

II.—GENERAL STATEMENTS CONCERNING LABOR.

1.—All Grades of Labor are Honorable.

No manly man will say that his fellow's work is menial or degrading. When a man is engaged in useful toil, he is in harmony with nature and nature's God, and is in the ascending scale as far as natural forces are concerned. The kinds of labor range from the lowest and simplest forms to the most complicated and sublime. The unskilled laborer, when he performs his work to the best of his ability, stands on a worthy platform with the skilled mechanic. The work of the latter demands greater wages, and is looked upon as more refined, which is only natural under the circumstances.

The pathway to skilled labor is open to all who feel themselves capable of attaining to it, and no one can say that he is restricted by custom or caste. It is certain that the man who gives his hands and brain to the higher types of toil, forfeits our respect for his manhood when he scorns the one who is engaged in some simpler kind of work, which may be as essential to the well-being of mankind as the other.

The dignity of Labor demands that there should be no rivalry between the different kinds of laborers, for he who works with his brains, and he who works with his muscle, are fellow brothers. It is proper to give credit to any man or woman who, by special endeavor, rises from the lower to the higher forms of labor. If any person should become distinguished above the humbler worker, he ought not to incur the envy of his humbler brother, inasmuch as the more complicated work requires a longer and more careful preparation, and all such investments should have a just recompense of reward. There should be no brakes pressed upon the wheels of human advancement, and each one should have the best opportunity for the fullest development of his mental and physical powers.

2.—Labor Furnishes a Means of Support.

After all is considered, perhaps the most dignified thing about Labor is, that it provides an honorable means of support to the laborer, and from this we argue that he who toils should receive his full share of the product of his labor. The most undignified thing about Labor is, that the laborer applies too much of his energy to fill the purse of the magnate. He must work, in some cases, ten or more hours a day, and then receive no more than he has earned in half that time. He is the common tool of human greed, and from this condition he has thus far not been able to escape; therefore, Labor has come to be looked upon as a disgrace. This should continue no longer, but as quickly as possible, each one should be called upon to do his share of work, and thereby make the labor of all much lighter, and the act of labor itself more honorable.

3.—Labor is a Great Source of All True Value.

Labor has created much of the glorious wealth of the world, and is worthy of special recognition. Who but the worker is a more important factor in creating the millions of dollars that go into the hands of the employer? And yet, he is the least considered of all the agencies employed. The horse, the donkey, the cart, the machinery, and all else are cared for and maintained with more decency and respectability than the laborer himself.

Physical and mental labor are the true sources of all material and immaterial wealth. Through these agencies the mind is enriched to know and enjoy the beautiful and ideal. The kind of material wealth that comes by labor and careful economy to any individual, is not the kind that endangers society the most, but that which comes by speculation and exploitation of Labor, enriching one at the expense of many. In this cruel manner numerous workers have an indirect share in the creation of the wealth of the great magnates of our country, but they hold no legal claim to that share. It is diverted from them by certain powers which these magnates possess.

We cannot expect that this condition will be improved so long as a man or a corporation manages its business under a banner of the largest possible profit with the least investment. Any man or corporation is a moral law-breaker when he regards not the good will of society and the well-being of his employees.

4.—Labor is a Giant Capable of Ruling.

Without Labor, nearly all other agencies would be ineffective. Even the great forces of Capitalism would be powerless without this important factor. If the real situation were described, it would be said that Labor employs Capital more than Capital employs Labor. The reason this is not true in fact, is because the mass of laborers are unconscious of their power and privileges.

When all is considered, it will be seen that Labor is more important in human affairs than the students of political economy have admitted. It is being shown more clearly every age that even the lowest aims of the magnate cannot be reached without the help of the worker. It is therefore evident that one class is dependent upon the other, and that Labor has been tricked into slavery by methods that appear more terrible the more we know of them.

III.—WHAT THE DIGNITY OF LABOR DEMANDS.

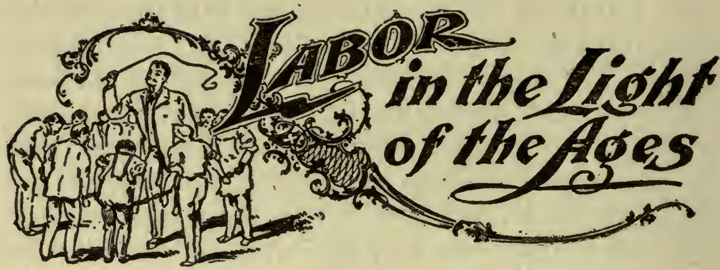
1.—The Laborer Should Receive Fair Treatment.

The dignity of Labor demands that the laborer should be treated in the spirit of love and justice. If love were at the helm, justice might be enjoyed by those on board the ship. Each one seems to be struggling for as much as he can get, and because the Capitalist has much money he also has much power, and this is too often used to crush the employed. At times we see covetousness, greed, and poverty raising their grasping hands, and, disregarding the miseries and sufferings of a large army of workers, rob them without mercy. In such instances Capital is receiving more than its just share of the fruits of Labor, and as time passes, the laborer is receiving relatively less and less. It is therefore seen that Capital and Labor, left to themselves, are carrying on a cruel war of misery and death, and no one can doubt that we need legislation to control both parties and grant to each his rights.

2.—LABORERS HAVE A RIGHT TO COMBINE FOR MUTUAL PROTECTION.

The dignity of Labor also demands that the laborers are justified in combining their forces for mutual protection. The initiative must be taken by the workers themselves, and, therefore, they have organized their forces and have shown what a formidable host they are. It is a case of China awakening out of sleep to see how large she is, and how strong she might be when order and system once rule her brain and muscle. So the hosts of Labor have come to see that they have all power in their hands, if they can only find a way to manifest it. The worker is gradually seeing that the problem is not easy of solution, and no one seems to be able to suggest a plan that the whole army of workers is willing to adopt. Yet each struggle is a step toward the end, and the army of workers, even at the cost of mistakes and blunders, will continue their agitations, and push their campaign until they reach some Waterloo or Gettysburg, where their decisive battle will be fought, and the cause of Labor win its day. Till then, all hearts must be patient, and every soul be in earnest, willing to suffer, if need be. until the day of redemption is at hand.

CHAPTER III.



Labor in the Light of the Ages

I.—AGE OF SLAVERY.

It is interesting and profitable to review the history of Labor as it has developed in the different ages of the world. To study the earliest phases of the laborer is tedious and somewhat uninteresting. It is enough to say that long ago people worked for hire, and that gradually slavery was introduced in a natural way. Instead of victors killing their captives, they used the wiser plan of holding them as slaves. This custom of slavery, instead of decreasing, grew in favor until it became the general order in nearly all the civilized nations before the time of Christ.

In Egypt the nobles and the priests were the ruling classes, and these were forbidden to work. Agricultural and pastoral work was performed by slaves. In its later history, when the slaves were too few to attend to the regular work, in addition to the building of the pyramids, the armies of Egypt forced their way into Asia and Ethiopia, capturing large numbers of foreigners and forced them into slavery.

In the palmy days of Greece, slavery was very popular. It is a strange part of history to learn how the number of slaves was increased under the power of the ruling classes. Piracy, kidnapping and exportation were all brought into service, until the number of slaves was nearly seventy-five per cent. of the total male population. This condition and custom had a powerful influence upon the famous men of that time, whose minds were so warped that they deliberately argued in favor of slavery. Even the immortal Aristotle openly taught that those who performed manual labor were in disgrace, and should not be entitled to citizenship. Upon a close reading of the old philosophers, we find that Plato, Cicero, Cato and others, reasoned along the same line. Such was the dark and hopeless condition of the poor slaves, who had no possible chance of self-defense, inasmuch as they were not permitted to enjoy social or political privileges, and, therefore, could not legislate or combine for mutual interest.

Rome was no exception; her conquests and treatment of the enslaved rather added to the terrors of slavery. Her armies were so powerful that they were able to capture in war large numbers of men, and like Egypt reduce them to servitude. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, Dr. Ingram says that Cæsar sold on a single occasion in Gaul 63,000 captives; Augustus made 44,000 prisoners in the country of Sallassi; after immense numbers had perished by famine and hardship, and in the combats of the Arena, 97,000 slaves were acquired by the Jewish War.

When Rome required a larger number of slaves to fill the ranks of her armies, she resorted to methods similar to those of Greece to swell the servile ranks, and it is estimated, on safe authority, that at one time nearly three-fourths of the population were slaves. The slave masters lost more and more the humane feeling, and certain slaves were treated worse than dogs. Some of the field hands worked and slept in chains, and those who became sick, were cast out to die. They worked under the lash and were guarded by soldiers, and were compelled to yield to the bestial and sensual instincts of the masters.

II.—THE DAWN AND REIGN OF FEUDALISM.

The foregoing is the painful picture of a large part of the world when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea. He was the new Light and new Power that was to set men free from the natural and spiritual bondage in which they were suffering. With the spread of Christianity, there came a loftier idea of Labor, and men were taught that every other man is his brother. Facts for full volumes could easily be gathered to show how the chains fell from men as fast as the new teaching touched the consciences of the nations.

The next advance in the history of Labor was from slavery to serfdom, or a condition of half liberty. This was only a step toward the better life, and, in some respects, a small step; but, nevertheless essential, as it is impossible to transform society in one bound. The serfs lived in poverty, and the lords were their masters. They enjoyed certain rights, but the privilege to advance or improve themselves was carefully guarded, and the possession of property forbidden.

It was on such a foundation that Feudalism lived and flourished during some of the darkest centuries of the middle ages. Some of the human slaves long looked upward for liberty; others were so ignorant and so accustomed to their tasks that they were like dumb lambs being led to the slaughter.

The next period of development was ushered in by a pressure from the two extremes of society; the influence of human policy and righteousness on the part of masters, and the combining for mutual aid and protection on the part of the workers. Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., says of this period:—"The workmen in the cities first won their freedom; afterwards, their fellow-toilers on the land were loosened from their bond. Three great causes, political, economical and ethical conspired for their deliverance. * * * The Mediæval Church with all her sins and shortcomings did speedily and mightily decide against human bondage." Arthur Fairbanks also says in his Introduction to Sociology, "Thus the serf was trained for centuries in the school of partial freedom, till at length the power to work for a future reward was a greater stimulus than external compulsion. The masters gradually learned that hired labor was more profitable than forced labor, and the principle of serfdom, like the principle of slavery before it, gave way to a higher form of organization for production."

It was a happier day for the human family when serfdom disappeared. According to Dr. Gladden, serfdom became extinct in England during the Fifteenth Century, largely through the teaching of John Wyclif;

in France it lingered, and the last remnants of it were swept away by the Revolution of 1789; in Germany it was not wholly extirpated when the Nineteenth Century began; and in Russia its death knell was sounded in 1861, and its death sentence was passed recently.

In the clamor for liberty from serfdom, it is remarkable to hear the sentiments expressed in the heat of the conflict. The cry is of the same order as is now heard from the depressed legions of wage-earners. We insert extracts from a sermon by John Ball:—

"Good people, things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins (serfs) and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? If we all came of the same father and mother, of Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend on their pride. They are clothed in velvet, and warm in their furs and ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread, and we oat-cake and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labor, the rain and the wind in the fields. And yet it is of us and of our toil that these men hold their state." This is one of the many quotations that might be given to prove the trend of feeling among the high and the low serfs. More will not be given, and we need but say that from such agitations as this sprang the Peasant's Revolt, which was apparently a failure at first, but which proved to be the seed from which sprang the tree of promise and blessing. Serfdom went down and a larger liberty took its place; thenceforth the working man could

Live where he desired;
Select his own occupation;
Choose his own employer.

These are the privileges enjoyed by the workers under our present "Contract System," which is one more step toward the worker's emancipation. Scarcely any of these blessings were enjoyed under Feudalism or Serfdom. We will take a glimpse at the world of Labor under the reign of the present system.

III.—OUR PRESENT CONTRACT SYSTEM.

The next step in the progress of Labor, as heretofore mentioned, is called the Contract System, by which is meant, that the laborer is to work for wages as agreed between himself and employer. With few exceptions this is now the ruling principle in all civilized countries of the world.

We are now standing in the midst of modern times, and with profit could study the history of any one country, but England presents the most striking example of Labor developments as seen in its one-hundred-year-battle between the employer and the employed.

The rich minority became fearful of the laboring majority, and long ago they commenced to influence legislation against the laborer, so that for several hundred years the statute books of England were stained with partial legislation against the worker. One of the old laws made it illegal for workmen to combine, and at one time this offense was punishable by death. This only shows the extreme to which the law-making body was driven by the Capitalists. Old laws have been repealed, and new ones more favorable to the laboring classes have been substituted. This is the story of a hundred years in England's history. Justice is gradually rising to the throne, and, as time advances, the workers will continue to see their deliverance coming nearer and nearer. One of the greatest victories for Labor in England, was the passage of the British Factory Acts in 1802. Since then, the oppressors of Labor have been compelled to yield inch by inch, and now most men can see that the employer and the employed will ultimately be on the common basis where they belong, all being servants of the community.

In the United States, events are following fast after the order of England, only with some different phases. The last fifty years has witnessed many preliminary skirmishes, all preparatory to the final issue. There has been more legislation against Monopoly, and more organization amongst the working classes in the past fifty years than in the hundred years previous to that time.

The Contract System has been in force long enough for us to pass an opinion on its merits and demerits. At first great prosperity was enjoyed by all, but in course of time the evils of free labor became apparent. The pale cheeks and wasted forms of the young and old as they tried to keep pace with the steel muscles of modern machinery, revealed a new type of heartlessness on the part of the masters, and a new kind of slavery on the part of the workers.

We will show later in this book the part that selfishness and competition are playing in this frightful modern drama. All the facts at hand clearly prove that the Contract System in itself is not the final solution of the Labor question.

IV.—THE COMING DELIVERANCE.

And here we are in the glorious light of the Twentieth Century which gives promise of great and good things to come. We must take one side or the other; we must join ranks with Alexander Hamilton, who represented the rich people of the country and seemed to have but little concern whether the struggling masses of workmen ever received their rights or not; or, on the other hand, we must take the side of Thomas Jefferson, who advocated the grand principles of human brotherhood, with a great love for the common people, and a strong desire that right and justice should prevail and that class legislation should be discouraged.

The cause of the laborer must never go backward, since what is enjoyed has been purchased at so great a cost. On the ruins of the past, we will now build until every man shall consider it an honor to work, and every worker consider it an honor to be a man.

CHAPTER IV.

The Condition of the SKILLED WORKER

I.—INTRODUCTION.

We rejoice in the advance of labor from slavery and serfdom to the present condition, and hope that the more complete deliverance of the worker will soon be realized. The orator frequently soars into ecstasies over the privileges of the American workers compared with those of certain other countries. This is allowable in the light of what we have learned of the down-trodden in many parts of our old earth. We are not so much concerned about what the worker once endured, nor about what he now enjoys, but we are concerned about the rights and privileges to which he is entitled, considering that he is a man, and that justice should be on the throne.

In a general sense, nearly all men work, and the employed are composed of two general classes, the skilled and the unskilled. In this chapter we shall consider briefly the first class.

II.—THE SKILLED WORKER VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF REASON.

Let us take a safe and candid view of the skilled workers in the United States under our present system.

1.—Their Wages are Gradually Reaching the Proper Limit.

This is not due to accident or chance. It has been the result of long and persistent effort on the part of the workmen themselves. They have been knocking at the door of the employers a long time, and much has been gained by their humble petitions, and still more by their organizations, strikes, boycotts and other similar means. These latter modes of attack have clearly revealed the peculiar difficulties under which the ordinary employer is struggling. It is seen that he is also bound under a galling yoke, and very frequently cannot do what he would wish to do for his employees. The main trouble lies at the door of our present Social condition. Great forces are very often operating to destroy the plans and wishes of the small employer.

The war of the skilled workers against corporate greed has brought to light startling facts concerning the methods of Trusts and Monopolies and their fearful extortion. It is frequently found that large corporations make, as a profit on each worker, from one to three times as much as the worker receives for wages. It is not to be expected that the skilled worker will ever reach a satisfactory state in regard to his wages. If it does happen that he receives a large compensation at one time, then will follow either scarcity of work or sickness or some other unwelcome stroke.

But wages do not count for everything; even if the wage question could be settled forever, there are many other unsatisfactory conditions resulting from the present indefinite Contract System. This opens the way for the consideration of the next fact.

2.—SKILLED WORKERS AS A CLASS ARE REFINED SLAVES.

This is a strong term, but is, nevertheless true, as applied to the masses of trades people and professional men. They are living under the banner of independence; but, in reality, are slaves to their environment. Some of these men are struggling for a home; others are straining every nerve to gain a fortune; they are in the mad race that carries so many of the human family into the horrors of suicide, or into a grave of premature death. The general competition among professional men makes life well-nigh unbearable. The fault of all this is the evil social state under which we live, which coaxes a man of reasonable prosperity into the expenditure of all his power. No master on the plantation could whip him into so much effort, not even under the threat of death could he be compelled onward as he is under his ruling ambition for power or wealth.

Why all this strain, this unnatural rush, this human slavery beyond description? The answer comes from the feeble and dying, and tells us the secret of our present competitive system. If all men could be assured that as long as the earth can yield enough to feed mankind, no one should suffer for the necessaries of life, there would prevail a new ruling ambition, and the early old age of the human race would be largely cut off. In looking at the general aspect of the skilled workers we find that:

3.—THEY ARE HANDICAPPED THREE-FOLD:

(1)—The Needs of Civilized Life Increase More Rapidly Than Wages.

This is a most embarrassing situation and always creates restlessness. We have admitted that the wages have increased in the past hundred years, with a frequent backward step; but during this same period of time, there have been such advancements in every branch of knowledge, and human life has been so increasingly complicated, that the demands upon the head of the family are much more now than they had been before. We have, happily, risen above the low idea that a man needs only enough to keep his body in a fairly healthy condition so that he can go to work again the next day. The worker can no longer be persuaded that he is not entitled to certain comforts, conveniences, and luxuries, and he will never be satisfied until he can enjoy his share of these privileges.

(2) The skilled worker is supplied with better tools and receives better treatment, but he is at the mercy of a "boss."

When we say "at the mercy of a boss," we mean that he may be suspended from work for a day, a week or more, or that he can be discharged at pleasure, or sharply rebuked for any real or imaginary offense. This is not true in each individual case, nor in certain localities. It is argued that a man needs a "boss," to which no objection can be offered; but the difficulty, as we now have it, is that the worker is beneath the "boss," and the "boss" is often surly, dictatorial, unreasonable and inconsiderate of the happiness or well-being of the employees, and according to Gronlund

"This relation becomes absolutely unbearable if, as very often is the case, the employee has more knowledge, more brains, a fuller head in short, than his employer."

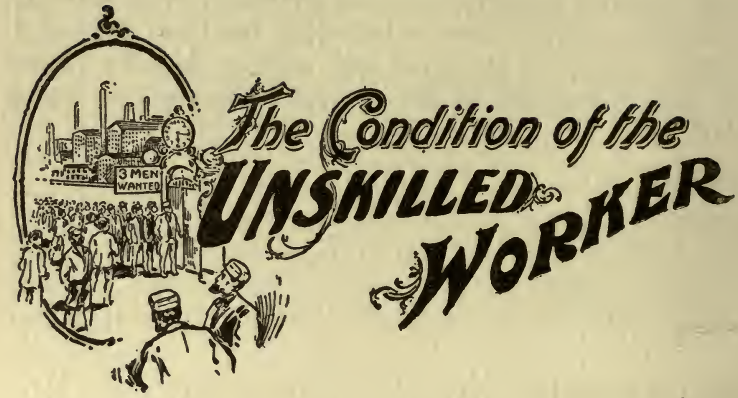
(3) The sacrifices and sufferings of the skilled worker are magnified through contrast with the unlimited and unearned wealth of the rich.

Although the skilled worker is not receiving the hardest blow from the capitalist's lash, yet he realizes more keenly every week of his life that the rich are growing richer and the poor, poorer. This refers to the relative rather than the absolute condition of the two classes.

We learn from the latest statistics that there are one hundred persons in our country having a total wealth of about $3,600,000,000. This is startling enough, but is not quite so alarming as to think that one seventy-fifth of our population holds in its grip two-thirds of the wealth of the entire nation. If this condition could remain stationary no doubt the working people would be willing to suffer the present ills they have, and not dream of greater evils to come; but under the system of investment by the millionaires, it is only a matter of time when the great lords of finance will practically own the earth. It is both strange and satirically amusing that the masses of people can be induced to remain the slaves of the human kings in a free country.

The skilled worker who has served years of apprenticeship, and who is bound down to certain hours of employment, feels as if something is wrong when the fruits of his labor are turned from his own comfort and his own family to swell the fat treasuries of rich individuals and rich corporations. Is it a wonder that he is still dissatisfied, even with a certain increase of wages that has come to him? If the truth were properly stated, it would be said, that while he is supporting his own family, he is, at the same time, earning enough to support one or two other families. This additional money he does not get, neither does he expect to get it, because of the fearful dilemma into which Monopoly has thrust him.

CHAPTER V.


The Condition of the UNSKILLED WORKER
3 MEN WANTED

I.—A GENERAL GLIMPSE.

If one wish to see the greater sufferings of the working people, he must look into the unskilled ranks. It is from this class that the greatest wail of distress rises heavenward, and the greatest number of discontented are found. In the United States there are in round numbers 10,000,000 poor families, and to the door of several millions of these, the cruel wolf has already come. The story of want, poverty and wretchedness, as witnessed in these unfortunate abodes, is terrible to relate.

Books have been written on the subject of poverty by Walter A. Wycoff, I. K. Friedman, Robert Hunter, Jacob A. Riis, Mrs. Lillian Betts, and a host of others, to say nothing of the magazine articles and the flashes in the public press. This has awakened public sentiment to some extent, and yet, with all this, the general condition of the lower classes is but little improved.

Taking a glimpse of the United States alone,—in that vast army of unskilled workers, composed of a larger number than could be found in any army that ever moved on the face of the earth,—we are strongly reminded of the sentiments expressed in Edwin Markham's famous poem, "The man with the hoe." Some of the army are far in advance of the others, both as to skill in labor and general intelligence.

II.—THE CONDITION OF THE UNSKILLED WORKER.

1.—His Condition is One of Slavery.

This slavery is not exactly the kind under which the negro suffered, but a kind that brings with it more embarrassment, and more humiliation and mental suffering than any class of honest workers should be called upon to endure. According to the civil law and the law of human love, the unskilled worker is duty bound to support himself and family, and when he finds at the end of his week of severe toil that his earnings are insufficient to pay the various debts incurred, he must of necessity feel discouraged. Who can then picture his hours of anxiety, most especially so when he has no bright outlook for the future. Many men who are in this condition, finally become indifferent concerning their increasing debts and are branded as dishonest, and others, through dishonesty from the beginning, make themselves eligible to the grade of rascality.

Some become dishonest through poverty, and others become poor through dishonesty.

A man is a little better than a slave when he must toil laboriously for ten or more hours each day, just for a bare subsistence for himself and his family. It is an insult to declare that such a man is free when his environments and circumstances crush him more than a master's whip. We will add these stinging lines of Stanley Fitzpatrick; they are worthy of study.

''The negro's free, but in his place
The wage-slave bows his haggard face,
The power of gold holds full control,
It owns its victim's life and soul;
It owns the mother, woe-worn, wild,
Who cannot feed her starving child;
It owns the woman, gaunt and thin,
By want dragged down to ways of sin;
It owns the masses of toiling men;
It fills each lowest, vilest den,
Where vice and crime, where sin and shame
Are stamped on souls with brands of flame.

''It gives the low the power to rule,
The toiling millions but their tool—
The helpless tool of cunning knaves
Who make free men their cringing slaves.
The sons of toil who should be free,
Yet bend to gold their servile knee,
And cast their eyes in silence down
Before a master's haughty frown.

"O, men of toil, on sea and land,
Who feel the tyrant's iron hand,
No longer yield your manhood up,
And groaning drink the bitter cup
While your taskmasters wring from you
The just reward to labor due!
Ye are not babes, but men full grown—
Arise and take what is your own.
The negro's free on Southern plains;
Let white wage-slaves now break their chains."

2.—The Condition of the More Unfortunate Class of Unskilled Workers is One of Suffering and Misery.

The severe demands of the employer or capitalist make it hard enough for the strong and able-bodied workers, but our heart shrinks in terror as we see that the survival of the fittest has crushed the more unfit of the unskilled workers so far down that their condition is one of hopeless despair. We will draw the curtain aside and take a passing glimpse of the hordes of the "unfit" human wretches who grovel under the hand of Greed and under the power of their own sin.

Why are these miserables unfit? No doubt three great causes are, intemperance, lust and crime. These will not be considered at this time, and if we were to consider them, we could show that to some extent these curses are the result of poverty as well as the cause of it.

Some workmen are unfit because of their inferior skill. We are not referring to the shirker, but to the honest worker who is not endowed with the same advantages as his fellow brother, and who, by putting forth his best efforts, is still inferior. His is a hard lot. He suffers embarrassment not only from his employer, but from his fellow workmen. It takes just as much to keep him alive as the other man, although he must receive much less for his labor.

Other workmen are unfit through peculiar circumstances. One of the most painful pictures of human life is to see a number of dependent children clinging to their widowed mother, who is slaving at the washtub, so she need not farm out her children, or force them early into the factory. This is the "unkindest cut of all." When will the poor widow receive just treatment from the state? It can hardly be expected under our present system.

There are also many husbands who are compelled by circumstances to remain away from work; it may be a sickly wife or child, or some other cause beyond their control. At such times their expenses are larger than ordinary, and the income is reduced to nothing. We have known of hundreds of such cases, where the physician who called from two to ten minutes a day, charged more for his services than the husband, who labored ten hours, could earn in the same day, and so this program continues in some instances for several weeks or months. Is it a wonder that a man would get discouraged, trying to support a family under such circumstances? The day will come when the physician will be liberally supported without being a burden to the poor slave who works, and the quicker that day comes, the better for all concerned.

In the light of such facts, we are not surprised at the strong words of Victor Hugo in his immortal irony:

"What happiness to be again ridden and beaten and starved! What happiness to work forever for bread and water! What happiness to be free from the delusion that cake is good and life other than misery! Was there anything more crazy than those ideas? Where should we be, if every vagabond had his rights? Imagine everybody governing! Can you imagine a city governed by the men who built it? They are a team, not the coachman. What a godsend is a rich man who takes charge of everything! Surely he is generous to take the trouble for us! And then he was brought up to it; he knows what it is; it is his business. A guide is necessary for us. Being poor, we are ignorant; being ignorant we are blind; we need a guide. But why are we ignorant? Because it must be so. Ignorance is the guardian of Virtue! He who is ignorant is innocent! It is not our duty to think, complain or reason. These truths are incontestable. Society reposes on them. What is "Society?" Misery for you, if you support it. Be reasonable, poor man, you were made to be a slave."

There are many workmen unfit because of ill health. Possibly no chapter of the hardships of labor records so many pathetic scenes as this one. To see a sick father dragging himself to work so that his beloved offspring can get enough to eat, is not only a common scene but a heart-touching one. We have known men who were altogether too sick to work, but who were under the "swim or die" system, and therefore, went to work until their strength was so wasted that they fell at the post of duty. Can you think of a sight more pitiable? We have also known many a man who met with an accident, a broken arm or limb, and who was bedfast for several weeks. After such a one is in bed a short time he is likely to see a ghost of his debts hanging over his head at night. This is the common comfort of the poor man who is sick, or who becomes disabled through accident. The grocery bill has run to its reasonable limit, the meat bill has been paid only in part. The last ton of coal is still unpaid and more is at once needed to keep the children from freezing. The landlord is restless, not being able to get his rent, and everything is gloomy because of these conditions. The little relief money coming scarcely pays for the milk, the medicine, and other incidentals.

In addition to all this the attending physician in three cases out of four is kind enough to charge from fifty cents to two dollars per visit. This is not altogether the physician's fault as much as the fault of the system under which we live. And, perchance, the sick man must have a prescription filled, then the druggist helps him by charging seventy-five cents for fifteen cents' worth of medicine. Of course, we must not blame the druggist; he is simply making all the money he can under the existing condition of society.

3.—The Wages of the Unskilled Workers Reduce Them to a State of General Poverty.

According to the "Municipal Court Review" (February 1904), over 50,000 families were evicted from their homes in 1903 in the Borough of Manhattan, New York. Lay this sad comment on passing events beside the other, that one burial in every ten in New York is in the Potter's Field. In the Census Report of

1900, it is shown that in Greater New York in that year, there were in round numbers 700,000 families. Of these 35,000 owned their homes free of debt, while 48,000 had mortgaged homes and over 600,000 families were renters. By a little use of the pencil, it can be seen that only six of these families of each hundred own their homes. There is no need for this condition of affairs in a country of such great wealth, and it will not be so always. It can continue only until the masses understand the way of escape, and take advantage of it.

It requires but little proof to satisfy any one that poverty is common amongst the unskilled workers, even if we look only at the unsanitary condition of their homes, if it is proper to call them homes. The most terrible aspect of this poverty is seen in the tenement-house sections of our great cities. We are informed by statistics that there are wards in New York in which the rate of population runs over 200,000 to the square mile. To use the language of Dr. Sprague, "Think of a plot of ground two hundred feet square providing a permanent home for nearly six hundred persons, giving to each a space of eight feet by nine. But even so scanty a provision is palatial when the facts are more closely examined. Sixteen families, composed of eighty persons, in a single twenty-five foot dwelling is common. In a room of twelve feet by eight and five and-a-half feet high, inspected some years ago, it was found that nine persons slept and prepared their food. In another room located in a dark cellar, without screens or partitions, were huddled together two men with their wives and a girl fourteen; two single men and a boy of seventeen; two women and four boys, nine, ten, eleven and fifteen years —fourteen persons in all.''

It is no wonder that children born in such places are early carried to their graves. This is a picture of low life and found in more than one city. It is terrible to think that such conditions could prevail in a land of plenty, where the harvests are so abundant in some places that they must partly rot in the fields. We will close this part of the chapter by a quotation from ''Socialism from Genesis to Revelation:'' ''Let the dullest imagination fill out the sickening details of this horrible picture; the gnawing hunger and pinching cold; the frightful and obscene jests; the brutal quarrels and hideous orgies; the noisome smells and disgusting noises; the reeking filth and shocking indecencies; the utter absence of that 'hope that comes to all;' the hot tears flowing from glassy eyes; the sighs and groans of despair at the certainty that the only deliverance from this sepulcher above ground, is the one below it. And we are led to ask in all seriousness; can there be real fear of God and genuine life of man in a community or country where such things are allowed to exist?''

Poverty also shows its fearful work throughout the whole country. If one travel in the mining regions, or the manufacturing centers anywhere along the commercial lines of our country, he will find the poorest workers huddled together in masses, living under the most miserable and unsanitary conditions. Conditions of this kind are enough to arouse the attention of all sober-minded people. It is not enough to lay the blame at the door of the suffering poor. Society at large creates the conditions that make such a life possible, and we as a people shall never be free from condemnation until we have given each man an equal chance to be what he ought to be, and to carry out his honest ambitions for advancement in life.

The whole rank and file of unskilled workers are restless and discontented, mainly because they well know that they are unduly crushed, and that they are not receiving a sufficient return for their labor.

4.—The Unskilled Worker's Prospects for Old Age Are Not Favorable.

Under this section we must crowd a volume of facts and conditions into a few general statements.

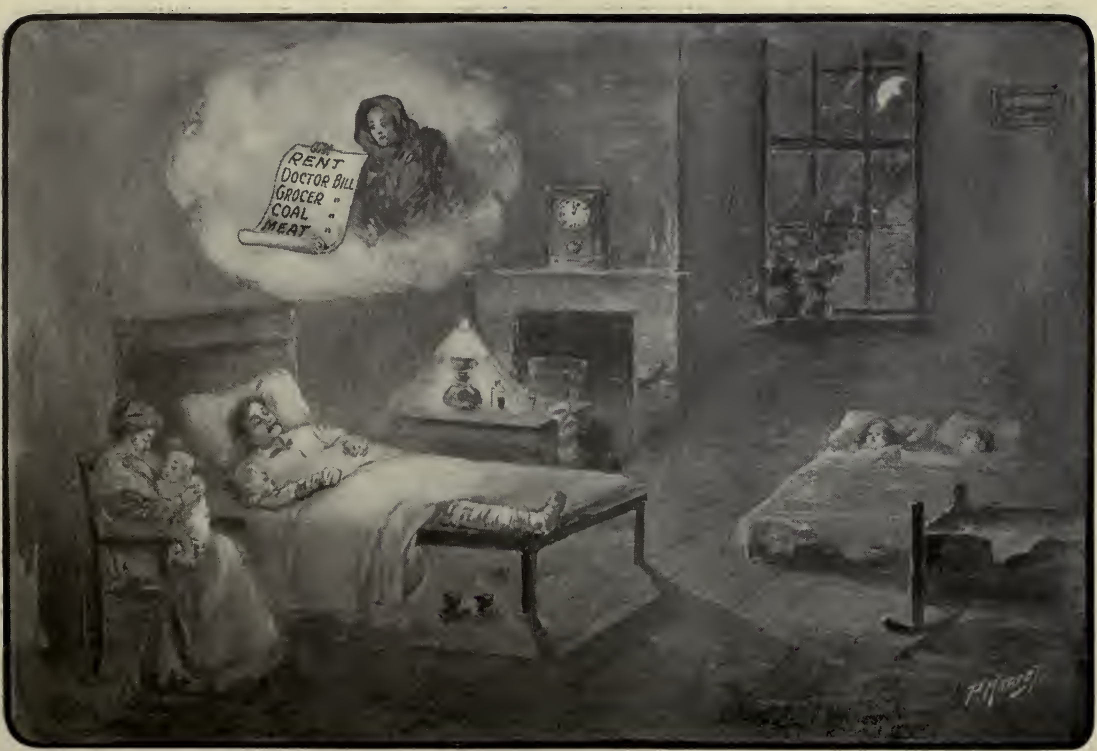
An old worker once said, "I envy that horse." The horse in question had faithfully served his master for many years, and now the four-footed creature was too old to work, so his master kept him on account of the work he had previously done. Many a horse is given his vacation after his best service has been rendered to a master. But some horses are treated as badly as some poor old men, they are worked to the full limit of their endurance, just as long as they have any strength left.

We ask the reader to study the condition of the average unskilled worker, and decide for himself whether or not such a man can decently support himself and family, and in addition, treasure up a little for old age. Admitting that some men are careless spendthrifts, the fact yet remains that the common laborer cannot get more than a bare subsistence. What is such a man to do when he reaches old age? The answer to this question reveals a pitiful series of facts, from which too many of our social economists prefer to turn their eyes. We are living in a cold, cold world, and no one knows just how unsympathetic the mass of people are until he comes to a dependent old age without money or kinsman to sustain him. Such a condition ought not to be possible, and the time will soon come when every old man and woman will receive all the comforts and necessary attention that they can well appropriate, and not under the roof of a public almshouse.

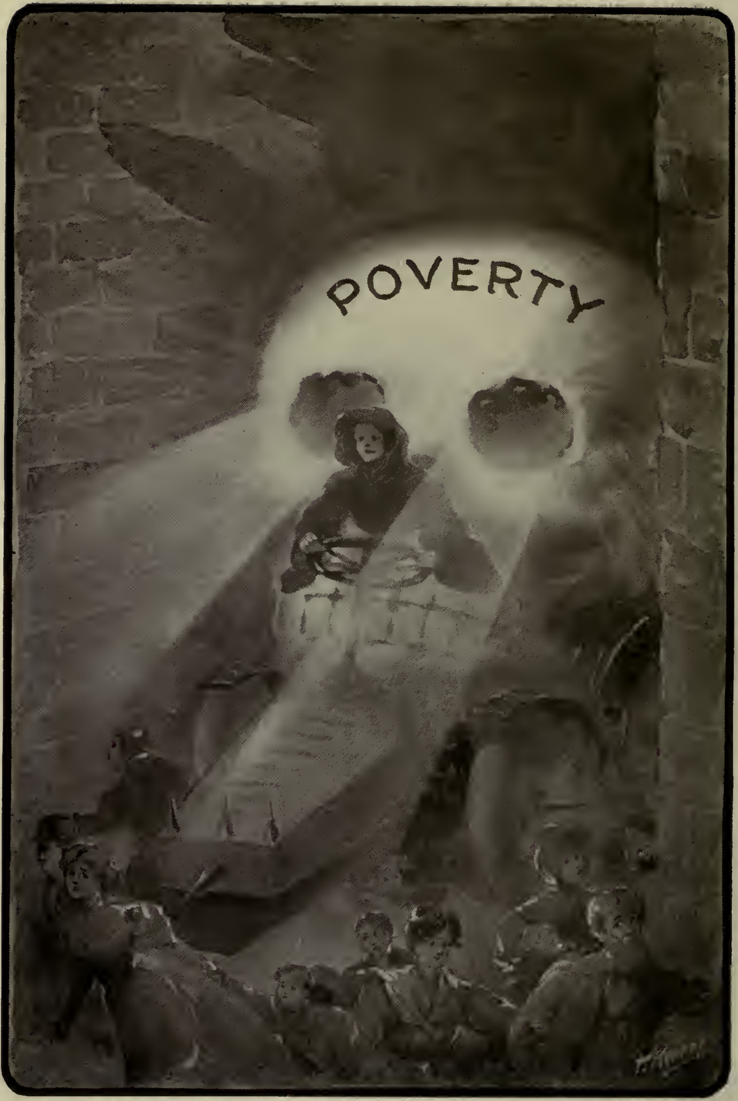
When the redemption of the worker is at hand, and each man does his duty to society, and society does its duty to each man, then the present incogruities of the worker and of the aged will be a nightmare of the past. The workingmen, as a class, are gradually seeing that industrial liberty is more than a dream and that it can be reached without a bloody revolution or insurrection.

The workers are the burden bearers of the nation, and their sufferings are being recognized. They are imposed upon by the employing class; they are made the fools of legislation; they are suffering under the lash of our cruel competitive system. They have many common foes to meet, and must wrestle under the power of heartless monopolies. They see new machinery placed upon the market to save labor, and instead of making their burdens lighter, the whole benefit of improved machinery flows into the coffers of the rich.

We will consider at more length the causes of labor's discontent in the chapter to follow.


RENT
DOCTOR BILL
GROCER "
COAL "
MEAT "

The Poor Man's Comfort.—The above illustration represents one of the sad results of misfortune. This poor man's chief comfort is to lie helpless on his back and think of the bills that are past due. Society is to blame for such conditions.



The Juggernaut of Poverty.—Under our present system of economics, poverty is doubly cruel and heartless. While all try to escape it, yet thousands are crushed annually under its awful wheels.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CAUSE OF LABOR'S DISCONTENT

A.

ARISING FROM CONDITIONS IMPOSED ON LABOR.

I.—THE GRINDING AND KILLING SYSTEMS OF WORK.

One of the saddest results of greed and competition, is the effort on the part of the employer to get as much work as possible out of the employed. From a business standpoint, this seems to be a very natural result, for it has been recognized by some long since that "might is right." One of labor's incongruities is:

1.—The Length of a Day's Work.

The ten-hour day for the manual laborer is one of the unnecessary evils of our time, and should be stricken from the list of civilized customs among free men, and be considered as a punishment to criminals in penitentiaries. There are certain kinds of employment for which ten hours a day may be fair, even though it is not essential, but for hard manual labor, it is too long, and compels a man to expend too much energy for the amount of strength he possesses and the wage he receives. We read of a man who was retained by the trust. He said that under the new management it was often eight o'clock at night before he got through with his work, and with all that, the severity of his work was greatly increased. When he was asked how much his salary had been increased, he answered by saying that it had been cut 40 per cent. "But what can an old fellow do?" he slowly added.

A contractor or corporation agrees to do a certain work for a fixed amount, and let us suppose one hundred men are employed to accomplish this. It is easily seen that the longer and more rapidly the men work, the more profit the employer will make; so, of course, the pick and shovel must move ceaselessly, and the poor laborer can take his choice—keep grinding away at it, or quit work, either to starve, go on a tramp, or get another job of a similar character.

There are many difficulties in the way of reducing the numbers of hours that constitute a day's work. Competition directly blocks the way, and compels one competitor to receive as much service for a day's work as another. Any one acquainted with the work of reform knows how difficult it is to get all competitors to act in unison. Since one line of business overreaches another, it would mean that the whole state or nation must act. The suggestion has been made that the national government has power to pass such a law, which is very true, and if the national government were influenced by the laboring masses as much as by the monopolies, such a law would speedily be enacted.

Certain tradesmen, such as bricklayers, have won the victory by strikes and other similar measures, but it is very difficult to unite all workmen sufficiently to gain any just measure for the workingman.

There are certain writers who claim that less hours per day for the workman would mean less production and more vice. Strange as it may seem, when the hours of a day's work were reduced to ten, the amount of production was almost the same as before and vice was not increased.

It is interesting to study the different methods used by employers to get the most work possible out of their men. One of the most terrible of these is what we will call

2.—The "Rhythm Stroke."

A few years ago in the suburbs of Philadelphia we saw a gang of about fifty men at work on the highway digging ditches of some kind. The "boss" stood before them, and the head workman kept time and all fifty men were compelled to raise their picks at the same time. Up and down went this line of fifty picks. Minute after minute the earth trembled with a heavy thud as long as we watched the operation. Any one of the workmen could take his choice of keeping pace with the rest or of falling out of line and thereby surrendering his job. Our heart was strangely and deeply touched as we witnessed this picture of real life, and we were moved by a spirit of indignation somewhat akin to that which was felt by Abraham Lincoln as he looked upon the selling of slaves which gave birth to that immortal remark; "If ever I get a chance to strike that, I will strike it hard." So we felt at that time, and now feel concerning all the grinding and killing processes of work that are used by some of the employing class. We should like to get a chance to strike so hard that the laborer could be made free and placed upon a platform of honor, where he would be given the same chance to advance himself as others now enjoy.

3.—Sweating System.

Still more terrible is the picture of the "Sweating System," as seen in most of the large cities of our country. This is a popular name to describe a condition of labor in which the greatest amount of work is to be done in a given time for the lowest wages, without considering the happiness or misery of the employees. The work is not always done in the factory, but it is often parcelled out to different ones in their homes. The man who has charge of this kind of work, is called the "Sweater," and when you become familiar with the conditions of labor and the grinding wage, you will conclude that he is rightly named. Carrol D. Wright says in his outline of Practical Sociology, "The employees in this work are usually very ignorant, * * * crowded in close rooms without regard to sex or age. The evils of the sweatshop come very largely within the domain of morals. * * * Public attention of late has been very sharply called to their existence, and to the very bad conditions which surround the worker, and efforts have been made not only to regulate, but to abolish all such places."

Certain employees work by contract, which is another term for piece-work. This sounds very dignified, but when you know the facts, you are chilled with horror. The writer has taken much pains to investigate the work and wages of young women who work by contract in factories. Along this line has developed the most modern type of the Sweating System. We know of one strong young woman who worked like a slave for six days and earned $2.60. Her average wage for six months was under $3 per week. She struggled hard trying to earn enough to pay her board, and then at last, with tears in her eyes, she said that she did not know what to do next. She might have worked as a domestic in some home, if she had been willing to enter one of the meanest forms of slavery that modern life enforces on the great majority who work as servants. After an investigation of many homes, we found that only one out of the three of the house-servants was treated with ordinary respect. In the other cases the so-called servant was made to feel that she was "beneath" the members of the household, not worthy to meet with them on any base of equality. No matter how poor a person may be, a haughty spirit on the part of the mistress makes it very humiliating for the servant who has any degree of self respect.

Instances like the one cited could be mentioned by the hundred to show the various forms of the sweating system. In the light of this knowledge, is it a wonder that some women are tempted to yield to a life of shame? And the terrible fact that some do fall, compels us to make reference to one of the blackest chapters of human history. The moral stench arising from the larger centers of population is so great that one is sickened and appalled. We are reliably informed that there is one harlot for every ten women in some of our larger cities, and the sweating system of work is partly responsible for these horrible conditions. Valentine Reichel, A. M., Ph.D. Lit. D., boldly declares: "It is a notorious fact that about thirty per cent. of the women and girls in this country who are forced into a life of sin, fall into the mire because their wages, in honest callings are insufficient to enable them to obtain even the necessities of life."

It is only just to say that there are a great many employers who make every effort to treat their employees as fairly as possible; in truth, there are many practical Christian business men who would be willing to make it possible for a person to receive a living wage for a normal expenditure of energy, if it were not for the "squeeze" of business competition which compels them to get their work done as economically as others. When the day of redemption for the laborer comes, no honest man or woman will be compelled to work like a slave, and no capitalist will profit by the heartaches and broken lives of his employees.

If any one wishes to look into this question further, let him write to his Congressman for the article on "Sweating" report 2309 of the House of Representatives; or let him read Bank's White Slaves, or let him take a personal tour of the districts where the "Sweating System" is in operation.

4.—Robbed of the Sabbath Rest.

Another of the grinding methods of work is the gradual move in this country, for the past one hundred years, to break down the Sabbath day of rest. We will not here enter into any religious discussion concerning the right or wrong of this matter. We will look at it purely from a humane standpoint. The one who works (and everybody ought to work) is entitled to one full day's rest in seven. It has been shown that a periodical rest every seventh day is good for man, beast and machinery. France tried to ignore this law and experimented with the one-day-in-ten-plan. This was a failure as was all the plans that have been substituted for the one adopted by the Creator. God who made man knew what was best for his physical and spiritual nature, and the individual or the nation that ignores the law of one-day-in-seven, or the Sabbath day of Rest, is beating against a rock.

It is sometimes said that corporations have no souls, and, if we are to judge them by their attitude on the Sabbath question, we can conclude this is true of many of them. The workingmen of this country ought to get their eyes open before they are altogether enslaved. If the Sabbath is broken down, it will then be just as hard to earn a livelihood in seven days' work as now in six, for it has been proved that wages will always be so adjusted that the worker will earn only enough for a bare subsistence. Under the ruling greed and graft of our monopolies there is no effort made to spare the worker on the Sabbath day, and if certain large business concerns had their own way, they would utterly overthrow the Sabbath as a day of rest. It is impossible in a limited consideration of the subject, such as we are compelled to give, to go further into details. We simply call attention to this as one of the grinding tendencies of our times.

II.—LOW WAGES.

One of the chief difficulties that leads to a dozen more, is the small wage that the average unskilled worker receives. Joseph Cook in one of his Monday lectures declared that a family of five living in the city could not very well live through a year respectably, and according to the standard of the workingmen of America, if the father is the only support, and is paid less than $10.00 or $12.00 a week. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor also declared that the recipient of a yearly wage of less than six hundred dollars must go into debt. John Mitchell, that famous labor leader says:—"For the great mass of unskilled workingmen residing in towns or cities, with a population of from five thousand to one hundred thousand, the fair wage, a wage consistent with the American standard of living, should not be less than six hundred dollars a year. Less than this would, in my judgment, be insufficient to give to the workingman those necessaries and comforts, and those small luxuries which are now considered essential." The General Advisory Committee of the Chicago Bureau of Charities on March 17, 1904, "agreed that no American family, or family of any other nationality, whose standards of living are similar, could comfortably live on any less than one dollar a week per capita at the present time, owing to the high price of foods."

The grinding conditions of work and low wages, coupled with the scarcity of work at certain times, have greatly increased the army of paupers of which there are nearly three millions in the United States.

The usual custom is to put a wholesale condemnation on the paupers themselves. This is the easiest way to get rid of the whole question. Now, if we reason together, will it not appear that much of this pauperism is due to the Social conditions under which we live as a people?

So far as the tramp is concerned, our people seem to be willing to support him, but he will not always be fed after the present manner. The time will soon come when the tramp or vagabond, instead of being a burden to Society, will either do his share of the work and live respectably, or he will be put to more severe work under the state, and his work will be of a useful character, and will help to make the work of the honest man lighter.

We shall have much more to say about the general class of unskilled workers in a few chapters to come. It is enough to say at this time that the Trusts and combinations are having by far the best of it. There is something radically wrong when over 600,000 men and women are destitute in New York alone at a time when the country was never more prosperous. The large number of Trusts have so doubled the price on such a large number of articles, that living is unbearably high, or to put the matter more truthfully, those who work must work half the year for themselves, and the other half for the Trusts and the idlers. Does it not seem strange that coal should reach its highest price when it is most plentiful, and that the Beef Trust should charge nearly double price for meat, when the Western farms never yielded a greater supply of cattle, and at a price beaten far down by the power of the Trusts? And what the Ice Trust, the Sugar Trust, and the Oil Trust cannot do, then the Gas Trust or some other kind of Trust steps in to do. We are certainly in a country of great prosperity, and everybody is prospering but the workingman. He has been content to make automobiles and let somebody else ride in them; to make Pullman cars for the comfort of others; to go shivering in winter and follow coffee wagons while others eat out of silver dishes; but he is beginning to see his folly, and he has long ere this asked for his rights, and he has done many foolish things trying to get them; but some of these things are necessary evils before the most intelligent plan of combination will be reached. When that day comes the tiller of the field will join hands with the miner, and the miner will join hands with the shopman, and they will all move together to secure what belongs to them: and THEY WILL GET IT.

III.—UNCERTAINTY OF WORK.

Since work is the divinely appointed means of gaining a livelihood, it, therefore, follows, according to a popular quotation, "If any man will not work, neither shall he eat." This law is reasonable and right, and is having a practical application in some countries where the unemployed are assisted to find work. A trudging tramp is put in a public workhouse where he can earn his own living; and if he refuses to work, he receives nothing to eat.

Another saying, which is not quite so popular, runs as follows:—"If any man does work, he has a right to eat." We will change this by saying that if a man works, or is willing to work, he has a right to a decent and comfortable living. The world does not question this right to a man who actually works, but to the man who is "out of work" and yet willing to work, it denies him necessary provision. He must depend either upon what he has accumulated, upon his friends, upon voluntary charity, or go begging.

Our Social system is radically wrong, when there is no reasonable way of getting food to a needy family whose wage earner is incapacitated. The great majority of those who work have no certainty as to the permanence of their employment, even if they render good services.

1.—Shut-downs as a Cause of Uncertainty.

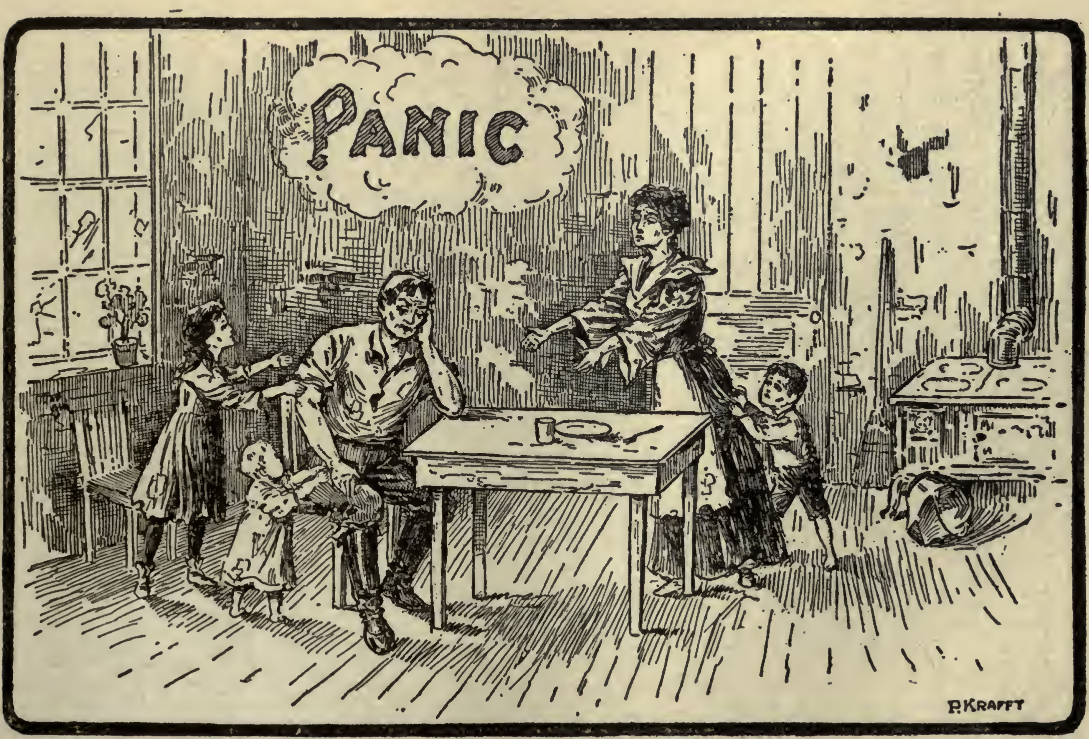
Sometimes a corporation will post notices at their shops or factories, similar to the following: "There will be no work for two weeks." They need not give any reason for their shut-down, and they need not give the notice very long in advance. It may be that a company wishes to make necessary repairs. There is nothing wrong about this, except that the men have no work for two weeks, and no provision is made for their support during that time. Under our present system, the employer would not be able to pay his men when his works are idle.

It may be that the shut-down is due to over production, one of those peculiar situations in which there is too large a supply of goods on hand and the people are unable to buy them, and, therefore, the producer and the consumer both suffer. This is one of the strangest paradoxes of our advanced civilization.

The shut-down may be for the purpose of freezing and starving the employees into submission of some kind. The truth comes from behind the scenes that certain companies must "keep their men down," and when they observe that they are prospering and becoming a little independent, and perhaps discussing their rights, then the best medicine that can be administered is a few weeks or months of idleness. This medicine has great effect on the laborers. They become very humble, and when work is again given to them, they feel like blessing the hand that gives them a chance to work. This uncertainty of work is one of the most unjust situations in our country, and yet, who is to blame for it? The employer claims a right to run his business as he pleases, and the men naturally know that they can get no pay when they have no employment given to them. Prof. Ely, in his admirable work on Sociology, etc., says, "What the wage-earner wants is not so much larger annual earnings, but a regular receipt of income in place of the present uncertainty."

2.—Panics as a Cause of Uncertainty.

No volume ever written has been able to describe the far-reaching curses of the periodical American panic. We need not go back farther than the one of 1837. This was a remarkable time when the country in the Middle West was rapidly filling with inhabitants. People crowded into that section; lands rose to fabulous prices; towns and cities sprang up like mushrooms in the night. In some sections, real estate jumped to twenty times its original price. Work was plenty, and everything in the mad rush told the ex-



PANIC.—No work, no food. Who is to blame for a hell on earth that a father knows when he feels the soft appealing touch of little children and the outstretched hands of a wife praying for the help which he cannot give?

cited populace that there would be no end to the wild craze,—but a sudden turn came when Andrew Jackson issued a specie circular in which he demanded, "Pay for your land in coin hereafter." Paper money in notes had been the handy medium, and the President wished to straighten things out as he thought and get everything back on a good foundation.

The result was far-reaching and terrible. A general bankruptcy followed until all the states were plunged into financial ruin. Then came the tales of woe from the mouths of several millions; they had no work, and therefore, could not buy bread. The farms kept on yielding their abundant crops, and there was ample food to feed every hungry mouth, but the social machine was out of order, and it had no way of lifting the bread to the mouth of the hungry, and therefore some starved amidst plenty. This is a common tale, and with some changed conditions it is the same in all our great panics.

In the panic or hard times of 1882-1884, the same sad conditions prevailed in regard to the suffering of the laborers. It is very difficult to ascertain the cause of such a panic. The United States Labor Commissioner threw out his lines and gathered in from prominent authorities on political economy the following list of causes:—"Abolition of the apprentice system, Business incapacity, Timidity of capital, Absorption of capital, Concentration of capital, Absence of caste, Employment of children, Creation of corporations, Small crops, Scarcity of currency, Indiscriminate education, Enforced idleness, Poor-class immigration, High-rate interest, Extravagant living, Labor-saving machinery, Over-production, Party policy, Inflation of prices, Reaction from prosperity, Decreased railroad building, Over-building of railroads, Speculation, Introduction of Bessemer steel, Sixteen difficulties with the tariff. Liquor traffic, Consolidation of wealth, War."

The foregoing list is somewhat amusing. It simply shows that each one places the blame along the line of his own thinking, and it also teaches how presumptuous it is for any one man to insist upon his particular theory or hobby. It does not make any difference what the real cause of the panic is, we are more concerned about the result, and that is, that a man should be thrown out of employment and no means provided for his support.

In 1893 a painful panic prevailed over the country; it was especially severe in the sections of the iron industries. It cannot be proved positively, but appearances indicate that this was the cruel soil out of which the billion dollar steel combine grew. In the Capitalistic style it was necessary to tear out the foundation of the whole iron and steel industry in order to bring everything to terms. If there was a selfish motive back of that movement, there must come a righteous judgment some day upon the heads of the promoters. We witnessed with our own eyes some of the sharp turns of poverty which people suffered during this panic. We know one instance of a father who had been hunting all day for work, and not finding any, he dreaded to go home to face his starving wife and children, who had been hoping all afternoon that he might bring some food or good news to them. The mother had given the baby the last bit of bread long before the husband returned. When he did enter the door she looked at him imploringly, and asked, "Have you found any work yet, John?" The poor fellow weakened by hunger, was unable to stand the strain, and he broke down completely. This father did not become insane, and in a mad fit go out and shoot himself, but was driven to that last humiliation of asking for help. This, to our mind, is one of the most pitiful pictures of modern conditions, that a strong, honest man, able and willing to work, and begging for it, is neither given work nor its equivalent. The long-ago stanza of Robert Burns pathetically describes such a man:

"See yonder, poor, o'erlabored wight,
So abject, mean and vile,
Who begs his brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil!
And see his lordly fellow worm
The poor petition spurn,
Unmindful though a weeping wife
And helpless offspring mourn."

In this same panic we know that scores of families were driven to the keen edge of suffering and many others were compelled to spend all their hard-earned, life-long savings. There was no need that anybody should suffer; our land was producing more wheat than the people could use; hundreds of thousands of bushels were being shipped to other countries, and thus our poor farmers were working like slaves to feed themselves and other countries, and thousands of our own workmen were starving like wrecked mariners on a broken mast, unable to get food.

3.—Discharging of Employees as a Cause of Uncertainty.

This is another fruit of our present system. It may be all right to discharge a man who is inefficient, and from a legal standpoint, it is all right to discharge a man for any reason or for no reason. We will take a recent example; let that suffice for all others. In the spring and summer of 1904, between fifty and one hundred thousand men were thrown out of employment by the railroads alone in a short time. The managers of the railroads claimed that "depression in business" compelled them to make retrenchments, and so they discharged the men without making any provision for their support. At the same time other corporations that employed much help also discharged a certain per cent. of their employees for the same reason. It is said that in the Wall Street Gambling Centre, over two thousand clerks were discharged because times were dull. Incidents of this character could be repeated times without number. It is in all a painful comment on our American life, and those who suffer most, seem to know least how to remedy the situation. This is one of the greatest curses to the man who works—he can never feel safe as to his future. He can buy a home in the hope of paying for it by installments, and then he must feel uncertain as to the permanence of his work, and in altogether too many cases, his home is sold and he must lose what he has paid thereon.

4.—Various Causes of Uncertainty.

There are many other conditions that make work uncertain. The formation of Trusts often throws men out of work; by combining certain industries, fewer men are required to do the work; the introduction of new machinery also throws many workmen "out of a job." We welcome the new machinery, but we grieve at the fate of the poor worker who has depended upon his trade and who is now past middle life, and is superseded by the machine that takes his place. Neither the country nor the state has made any provision for such emergencies. The honest tradesman is simply cast off to get a living the best way he can, somewhat after the fashion of a horse that has worked hard until it is of no more use and is cast off into the field to get its living as best it can, except that Society does not furnish the field for the man.

The army of the unemployed is strangely growing larger, notwithstanding our general prosperity. Labor Commissioner Wright, drew the net of investigation over 25,000 families in thirty-three states in the year 1903, and found that almost half of the wage-earners of these families were idle part of the time during the year. The average length of idleness was almost ten weeks. If you study statistics on this question, you will find that on an average there are between two and four million wage-earners idle every day in the year in our country. This brings to us a story of distress, and only a few amongst the capitalists seem to care. We need not mention any more causes of the uncertainty of work, as enough has been given to demonstrate its curses.

IV.—BLESSINGS CHANGED TO CURSES.

1.—INVENTION.

It is terrible to know that angels should be turned into demons, or blessings changed into burdens. This is what the workingmen of the world have experienced in regard to the things that should have lightened their burdens. What a glorious age of invention we have had, eclipsing the past, glorifying the present, and giving promise of the most golden age of material advancement that the world has yet seen.

Just as the year 1492 stands for the discovery of America, with all the consequent blessings that followed, so the year 1769 stands for the discovery and utilization of the power of steam with all the wonderful events that have succeeded it; just as America was to open the door of liberty to the world, so the coming of machinery gave promise to make men more free from their slavish tasks.

The introduction of machinery that came after the steam engine had been applied to industry, accomplished all and more than what was expected of it. It has done marvels in accomplishing results with the least possible labor. Reliable statistics tell us that the steam harvester can reap and bind the waving grain of ninety acres in one day, requiring only the work of three men. Who would be dull enough to say that it were better to hire a host of men to do the same work in the old-fashioned way? With the McKay machine, one man can handle shoes sixty times as fast as he could without it. In the manufacture of matches, three hundred girls, by the aid of machinery, will make as many matches as seventy-five hundred men could formerly make. Since the perfecting of watch-factory machinery, it is possible to manufacture nearly six hundred thousand watches in a year at one place. In the up-to-date steel works, four men can do as much work as one hundred and forty men could do in the old-fashioned way. In weaving with modern machinery, one man can do nearly as much work as one hundred men could do with the old-time hand loom, and, startling as it may seem, we are reliably informed that spinning machines tended by one overseer and two girls, can turn out more yarn than over ten thousand hand spinners could do in the days of yore. Let us give one more example as described by the "Cleveland Citizen:"

"The new 70,000 horsepower station of the big street railway monopoly in New York is a model labor-saving institution. The combine operates 3,000 cars on 217 miles of track in a territory ten miles long and two miles wide. To get an idea of the scientific manner in which labor-saving machinery performs the work, we cull the following example from the exhaustive description. The coal required to operate this immense plant is unloaded from barges in the East River, weighed and delivered to and fed into the furnaces by only four men! These four men, by operating the machinery, handle from 80 to 180 tons an hour. The ashes are also gathered up and dumped upon barges by automatic machinery, which never goes on strike and never boycotts."

We are told that the machinery in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts can do as much work as fifty million men, and that the latest improved machinery of Great Britain can do the work of over five hundred million men.

Does it not appear that when work can be done so much more easily by machinery, that the workingmen should look upon such inventions as ministering angels coming to their relief, or, in other words, has the laborer any right to expect that his burden should be lighter in the presence of iron and steel muscles that move under the power of steam and electricity? Certainly he has a right to share the benefits, but how has it affected his condition? Take a sober glimpse of the past. Under the old system, the individual hand-worker did most of his manufacturing in or about his humble home. He bought the raw material and sold the finished product. When machinery came, men, women and children were crowded into factories under the new "wage system." Never a more sudden transformation took place in the industrial world. It was a journey from the individual to the collective; each owner of a factory bought the raw materials and made all the profit he could. He paid the employees *not what he considered the workmen's rightful share of the product, but the lowest sum for which he could persuade them to work.* This was the beginning of the new order which has not yet had its end, and it is becoming more and more clear that the worker is being robbed (pardon the term) of what rightfully belongs to him, and we must not, in all cases, blame the employer for the robbing.

The nation and upper classes are growing enormously rich on the fruits of labor. Under this deceptive wage system, the poor workman is a slave, as we stated in a former chapter. His bondage is so great that he is being crushed constantly by the hand that he is filling with gold. In the name of justice and the God of justice, we declare that the laborer is entitled to a more equitable distribution of the fruits of his labor. Why should capitalists and corporations enrich themselves so enormously by gathering in the increased fruits of machinery?

In this manner the angel has been turned into a demon. When machines were first introduced into the mills of England, and large numbers of employees were discharged, there followed scenes of bloodshed and riot. The men who had lost their situations looked upon the machinery as an enemy, and in many instances, raids were made upon the work-shops and the machines were broken to pieces by the enraged men. This led to the passage of a severe law attaching a death penalty to a machine-breaker, and more than one man lost his life in this fanatical fight against what he considered his greatest foe. It does not require a logician to see that under the proper system of economics there would be no necessity for such severe and horrible legislation.

When the system of private ownership has passed from the earth, and the terrible ghosts of greed and graft follow the corpse, then every device that saves labor will bring some relief to the whole mass of laborers, and everybody will share alike in the benefits of invention and in the utilization of the natural forces that are being harnessed to serve the purposes of man.

2.—IMMIGRATION.

We will not discuss at this place whether immigration is helpful or harmful to the people of the United States; we will only consider it as it affects the condition of the laborers of our country.

The immigration question did not receive any serious consideration before the year 1821. At that time the Government made arrangements to take statistics of all persons who came to the United States. Not until the middle of the Nineteenth Century did immigration rise to large proportions; the numbers then coming from the countries of the old world averaged over 250,000 annually, and before the Century was three-fourths gone, there came to our shores over 500,000 annually.

The incoming of such vast numbers was a terrible strain in the labor market, and instead of being a blessing to the American worker, it was another case of the angel being turned into a demon. Instead of lightening the burdens of the American worker, it compelled him to sell his labor in competition with the more untutored and more untrained laborers that came flooding in to bid for work in the American market. There is no object lesson in all history that furnishes a clearer conception of the evils of the wage system than the lesson that immigration furnishes.

We do not wish to cast reflection upon any other nationality, but the truth stands before us that many of these immigrants from Hungary, Ireland, Italy, and other countries were from the lowest classes of people, who were accustomed to live in their own country on a starvation diet. As they came to America, they were able to live cheaper than the most common of our American laborers, and therefore, rather than do without work, they sold their labor in many instances at considerably less than a dollar a day. In fact they worked for any wages they could get. Some of our American contractors, ever anxious to make all that they possibly could out of a contract, were willing enough to take advantage of the situation and hire this labor so as to get their work done as cheaply as possible. The natural result following these conditions was that our resident laborers were often pushed to the background, and could take their choice to work for a mere pittance, or not work at all. It is not strange that American laborers become hostile, in many sections, to this incoming flood of immigrants. When we look at the situation fairly, we can easily account for the rash acts committed and the bitter feelings that existed in many corners of our fair country.

If we lived under a system of Municipal and public ownership, the coming of a few million immigrants into our country who would be willing to work ten hours a day at hard labor for one dollar a day or more, would only lighten the burden of resident workers, if our government would permit such uncharitable discrimination. We are only speaking of a situation that could hardly be possible. As it is, instead of being a blessing, the immigration of laborers into our country proves to be a burden, and only one class of people are reaping the benefit, and they are the capitalists and corporations. It is the same old story, that the rich have been growing richer upon the hard toil and sacrifice of others, while the common people are called upon to bear heavier burdens on account of these conditions. When will the happy day come that angels will no longer be turned into demons, and when blessings will no longer become burdens, but when each one alike shall receive the benefits that come from the discovery, the invention or the sacrifice of another?

CHAPTER VII.

THE CAUSE OF LABOR'S DISCONTENT

CONTINUED

B.

ARISING FROM THE ATTITUDE AND EXAMPLE OF THE RICH.

Among the many causes of unrest among the workingmen is the manner in which certain rich people use their wealth, and the spirit which they manifest toward the poor; also the attitude of certain corporations toward their employees in times of strikes and during other kinds of disturbances. Among the rich there are many who have used, and are still using their wealth in a very commendable manner. These exceptional cases are the bright lights along the path of financial frenzy. The man who realizes his responsibility, and studies to use his wealth in the best possible manner, is a mighty moral force, and is ever giving rebuke to the selfish, miserly men of wealth whose sole ambition is to grasp and accumulate at any cost.

The rich man should recognize his many obligations, and, if he wishes to please God, he must not forget that he is a steward, and is held responsible for the manner in which he uses his wealth, and all the other powers at his command. This law is so simple that it needs no line of proof. The fact of human responsibility to God is one of the greatest realities of life. The poor man must also give an account of his stewardship in finances, influence, opportunity, ability and every other quality of the body and soul. If money is one's greatest power, then money is also one's greatest opportunity to do good, and he should not use it to oppress individuals, or impose burdens on society, which will all come to light in the final day of reckoning. There is no truth more firmly established than that man must give an account of his deeds in the body, at the final judgment.

We have personally known in our time a few men of moderate wealth, who keenly realized their responsibility to God. Their daily prayers breathed out the request to the Infinite One for guidance in the handling of their money. Suppose that all the corporations and money kings of our country yielded the fruits of such a spirit, would there then be any cause for labor uprisings? No general movement would be known, for our Social System, defective as it is under the cloud of private ownership and competition, would then render to every man a fuller product of his labor.

It needs no argument to prove that the spirit of the great majority of our rich men and our rich corporations is just the opposite from what it ought to be. The heartless rich are using their vast possessions as absolutely their own; they seem to care not for God, for man or Satan. A true photograph of this class reveals a picture of indifference, heartlessness, foolishness, and fashionable robbery.

I.—THE INDIFFERENCE OF THE RICH.

The spirit of indifference manifested by so many of the wealthy toward the poor has been breeding more misery and hostility of feeling than one can imagine. No doubt there are many humane hearts among the wealthy, but the poor judge by actions. It is sadly true that many of the rich are very careless in paying their bills to the poorer class, and there is an unwritten law that it is an insult for the poor to ask for their money. Marion Harland publishes a letter that tells its own story along this line. We take the privilege of reproducing it from the "North American:"

December 14, 1900.

"Dear Marion Harland:

"I am going to tell you one or two true stories—true, every word. I am a nurse, and see a great deal of both rich and poor. To-day I made a call on a young woman who supports herself and an old crippled mother by lace-mending. She works for several of the so-called '400.' When I came to see her, or, rather, her sick mother, there was no fire in the stove, very little food, and, of course, not a cent in the house. The young woman told me she had bills out for nearly $60.00 and that she hoped every moment, with hope against hope, she would get her pay; that some one of her rich customers would remember her bill and send her a check. She doesn't dare ask for her pay, or she would lose their custom. So she and her poor invalid mother have to freeze and starve because millionairesses don't remember to pay a poor, hard-working woman. Unfortunately such things happen every day in this city. Rich ladies, who have only to go to their writing desks and fill out and sign a check, let day after day, week after week, pass, without remembering there are poor women suffering, starving because of their thoughtlessness. That poor invalid will very likely die because women, whose husbands and fathers are worth millions, 'don't think' to pay what they owe, or are too lazy to send the check.

"I know that young lace-mender personally, and that what she told me is true. Often mistress and maid employ the same workers. The maid pays her bills promptly. The lady will not pay hers, perhaps, in several weeks. Of course, I helped the woman to get fuel and food, but I fear it was too late.

"Not so very long ago another woman, a seamstress, took a bad cold, and died literally of want. There was about $80.00 due her from prominent society ladies.

"I cannot forget the sight of those two women freezing and starving, because they don't get the money for which they have worked honestly and hard. If you could see and hear only half of what goes on in this line, you would not wonder that there is so much bitter feeling against the rich."

We have good judgment enough to admit that such cases are the exceptions with most of the rich, but it requires extreme cases to fully illustrate the truth. It is strange that the ones who have the most money take the most advantage of the credit system. They leave their grocery bills and certain other bills run three, six, and twelve or more months before payment is made.

The incidents given above are not the worst fruits of indifference on the part of the rich; but one result more disastrous than all the rest is that it has widened the chasm between the rich and the poor. Under our present competitive system, it is necessary that sympathy and confidence should prevail between the rich and the poor. These feelings are largely unknown and everything has been resolved to the cold ethics of business and necessity. This charge we lay before the rich; they are more responsible than the laborers for our present strained relations between the two classes.

II.—HEARTLESSNESS OF CORPORATIONS.

Under this head, we speak particularly of corporations. Their attitude has done much to provoke the workingmen to anger and rebellion. During the strike at Pullman some years ago, an investigation took place, and the Vice-President of the concern admitted that while the receipts of the company had been reduced $52,000, it had at the same time and for the same period reduced the wages of its employees $60,000; yet, with all this reduction in wages, it did not cut down its charges for house rent to the employees, or the salaries for the officials of the company, nor its dividends to the stockholders. This is heartlessness indeed, when a company with twenty-five millions of undivided surplus deliberately places the entire burden of hard times upon its dependent and helpless employees. This injustice is not practiced by all corporations, but it has prevailed to a very large extent. Many pathetic incidents have come to us from the coal strike of 1902, among them is the story of a miner who was evicted from his home by a certain coal company, because he could not pay rent during the strike. We give an extract from the daily press on the sad experience of this miner, who gave his sworn testimony before the Commission appointed by President Roosevelt. He was decrepit and marked from many injuries received while in the service of the company. The miner declared that when the officers of the law came to force them out of their rented home his wife was sick and her 100-year-old mother was blind and unable to walk. The day on which they were "thrown out" was rainy. He took them as best he could to Hazleton, seven miles away, and placed them in a cold, damp, empty house. This was when the atmosphere on the Hazleton mountain was quite cold. His wife became worse. Medical aid was kindly furnished free by a Hazleton doctor but it did not help her much.

"We were greatly worried because of our having been turned out of our house and one night," the witness said, between sobs, "she died." "She died?" exclaimed Judge Gray, who was pacing to and fro across the room, as he quickly turned when he heard the man's last words. "Yes, sir; she died and I buried her yesterday." The witness went on to say that he did not know whether the centenarian was alive to-day or not. "She was in a bad condition owing to her daughter's death when I left home last night," said he.

Circumstances like the foregoing do much to incense the masses against the employer. The Coal Company had an object in view in evicting its tenants. It was no doubt one more effort to whip the men to terms by making them suffer the full consequences of the strike, but in this case an unfortunate result made the company's action appear so much the more heartless. These are only a few isolated instances; if space permitted we could give many more.

III.—FOOLISHNESS OF THE RICH.

When we speak of the foolishness of the rich, we refer to the bold extravagances that have made the blood of the poverty-stricken classes run fire. When we hear tales of more money being spent by a wealthy woman on a poodle dog than a workingman spends on a whole family, we are disgusted; when we hear of thousands of dollars being wasted to gratify the morbid appetite of a man of wealth, we are shocked; when we hear of wild frivolity at a reckless cost, we are more than ever reminded of our own hopelessness, if we ever fall into the hands of such reckless rulers.

Think of the women who spend millions to gratify their pride and love of fashion, in the very midst of swarming poverty and discontent. The artist who wishes to draw a picture of selfishness, can find no better model than the man or woman who is making a frantic effort to spend as much money on himself or herself as possible, while he turns a deaf ear to the cries of the suffering world.

There is a law of Scripture, "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required." There are too many of the wealthy who interpret this word "much" to mean much extravagance, fashion, much of the overbearing spirit, much tantalizing of the poor. Dr. G. V. Reichel very forcibly says:—"The privileged class must set a better example of living before the circumscribed classes can be uplifted. It is only too appallingly true that the power of wealth in its oppression of the poor, is, in many instances, not short of murderous. Hence we witness a change of opinion concerning the privileged class; and the much vaunted ease, the unjustifiable indolence, and the ofttime unquestioned worthlessness, so characteristic of it, had disenchanted the vision of wealth, and excited among the poor a bitterness of hate that grows ominous."

We are not alarmists, but we wish to say in the line of history, that the Reign of Terror came like a thunder roar after the gathering storm of ages, and the conditions existing now in our country indicate that unless radical changes occur, there will come some calamity of which no one can now make an adequate prophecy.

IV.—FASHIONABLE ROBBERY.

Those among the wealthy who have gained their gold by questionable methods have done more to prejudice the working masses against the rich than all the others combined.

1.—Usury.

This is a common method of fashionable robbery and has crushed one farmer after another in the western part of the country. Some of the states allow the lender of the money to charge a high rate of interest, even as high as 12 per cent. or more is sometimes exacted by the lender, who in one way or another takes this advantage, just because conditions enable him to do so. As a result many of those farmers having mortgages against them are unable to meet the interest, and their hard-earned savings of years are mercilessly swallowed by the mortgage. If the farmer is able to pay the interest, it only means that he must keep himself on the "grindstone," so as to be able to meet it again when it is due.

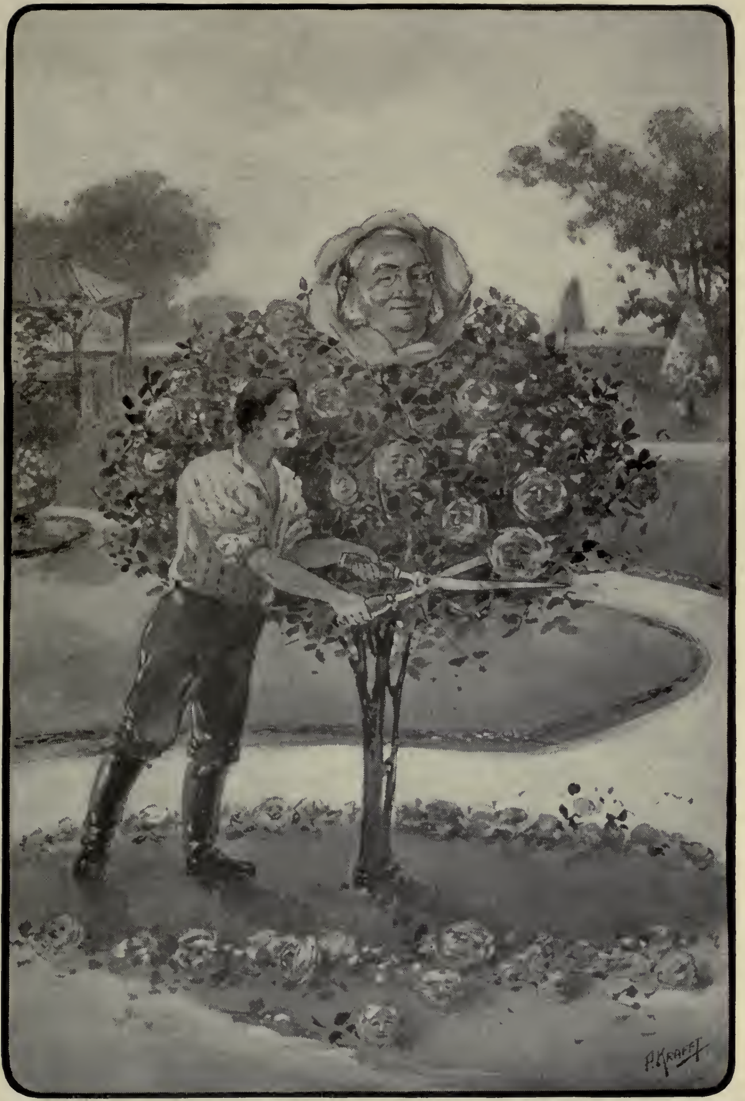
Why is it legal to charge 10 per cent. interest? The answer to this question reveals the close relation between the law-making body and the men of money. One of the reasons that the Russians hated the Jews was because the Jews in some localities were the landlords and charged large rents, enough to make 10 per cent. or 20 per cent. on the investment. The fire of anger among the poor renters blazed into a fury until it was uncontrollable in the spirit of the mob, and the fearful results of massacre followed.

2.—Concerning the Market.

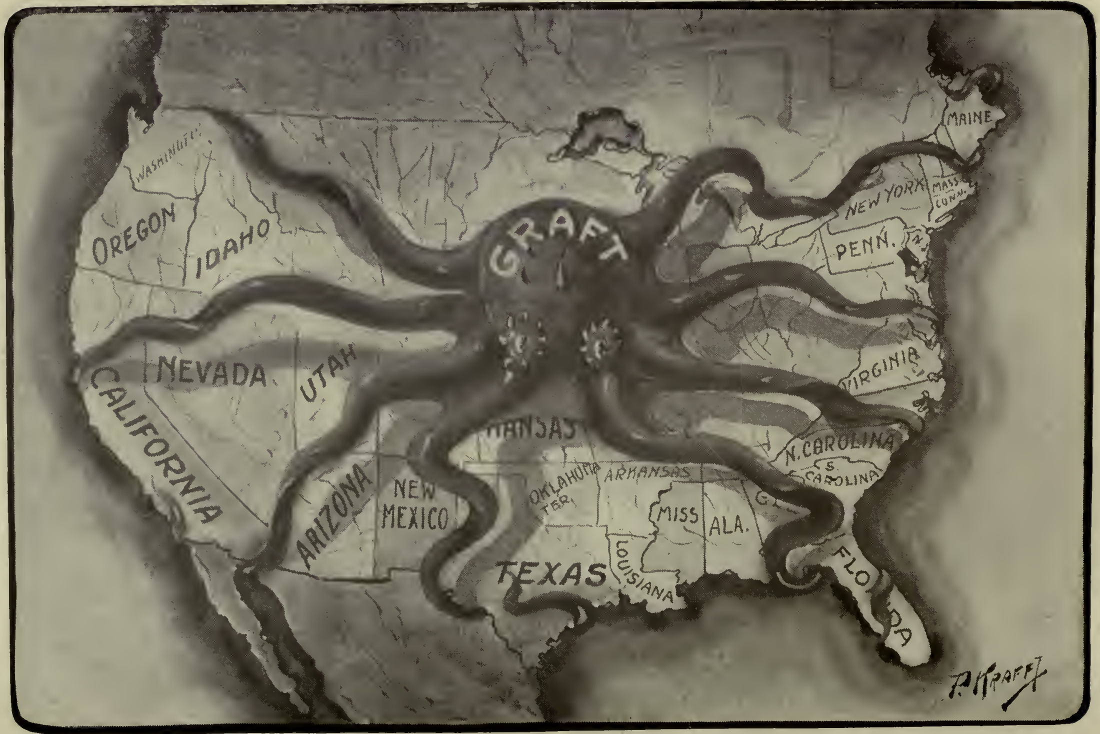
It is not right to hold prejudice against the rich people as a class, just because a few of their number resort to low methods to gather wealth. The common people have murmured their complaints against the air, because the man who corners the market is deaf to the suffering cries he may cause.

The man who wishes to "corner" a commodity, selects something that people must or will have; the reason for this is apparent. Wheat is often chosen, and sometimes corn or oats, or perchance some other necessity. Then the people consciously or unconsciously pay an extra price in order to get the "cornered" goods. This is robbery, and he who is able to succeed at it is called "smart," and his friends compliment him on his good fortune. These are only a few snap-shot pictures of the fashionable robbery that is being committed constantly, and which is ever causing restlessness and discontent among the working classes. We cannot censure the toiling slaves for making their protest strong and clear. We think it only natural to hear their clamor for equity, and the Ear that is ever sensitive has heard their cry, and the redemption that has been long coming, is already in sight.

The next chapter on Grafting and Unfair Legislation will give more light on some of the fashionable types of robbery.



The Gardener at Work.—According to the remarks of a very rich man's son, it is proper to clip 999 buds (small dealers) in order to develop the one flower called the "American Beauty Rose" (Monopoly).


GRAFT
MAINE
NEW YORK
MASS.
CONN.
N.J.
PENN.
VIRGINIA
N. CAROLINA
S. CAROLINA
FLO DA
ALA.
MISS
LOUISIANA
ARKANSAS
OKLAHOMA TER.
TEXAS
ANSAS
NEW MEXICO
ARIZONA
UTAH
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
IDAHO
OREGON
WASHINGTON
P. KRAFT

Graft.—The octopus of Graft is spreading its destructive arms over our entire country and is settling down upon it with a force that threatens destruction. The people must destroy this monster before it destroys them.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CAUSE OF LABOR'S DISCONTENT

(CONTINUED)

C.

ARISING FROM GRAFTING AND UNFAIR LEGISLATION.

I.—GRAFT.

Another fruitful source of discontent among workingmen is the partiality of law-makers and the practice of Grafting that is sapping the life blood from the body of our nation. As the secular press becomes more fearless in exposing the crimes of public men, the people are learning more accurately the facts concerning the lying and stealing in places of public trust, and they are being convinced that these dangers threaten the life of our country. The hideous Graft Octopus stretches its threatening arms in all directions, and who will say that the illustration on an accompanying page exaggerates the condition. Take a glimpse of our nation in 1905, as brought to the attention of the people through the public press of

Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and other great centres of population. Information came from California that one of its state senators was serving a five years' sentence in penitentiary, and that one of the tax collectors stole a quarter of a million, and was also serving a sentence. From the other two Pacific Coast states of Oregon and Washington, comes the same tale of woe concerning men in public office, who sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. From the states of the Middle West, especially Missouri and Illinois, have come the news of abundant and outrageous Grafting.

Men who have been honored with public positions by the vote of the people have trampled under foot their sacred trusts, and with seared consciences, and in violation of every principle of justice and right, have used that trust to enrich themselves at the expense of the communities they had sworn to serve with honor. From the eastern and southern parts of our great nation come the same distressing tales. Texas is awakening to the real situation of affairs behind the screens, and Ohio is afflicted with a company of smaller Grafters that infest many of its larger cities. Pennsylvania is one of the school teachers of the nation on the subject of Graft, and the state of New York has an equally unenviable record in this distressingly dishonorable business.

It would require a volume to relate the facts on this subject even in our own country. It is so serious a case that the people are aroused and our Chief Executive is determined to mete out punishment to the offenders. In the year 1905 it was seen in many of the Scientific Bureaus; in the Statistical Bureaus of the Department of Agriculture; in the Government Printing Office, and in other departments of our national service, that certain of the leading employees placed their private interests ahead of the Government, and, as a consequence, the President declared that laws must be formed or enacted to bring speedy punishment to those who betrayed their public trust. He expresses himself on this wise:—"Crime in the government service is the most detestable that the courts have to deal with. It is betrayal of confidence in its worst form and abandonment of every principle of patriotism and good citizenship."

Happy the nation which has as its chief ruler a man who is not afraid of men or devils, and who has the courage of his convictions. President Roosevelt in his general attitude became one of the greatest political heroes that ever graced the Presidential Chair, and we rejoice that millions have held this opinion. Notwithstanding what he accomplished to arouse public sentiment against public crimes, and in elevating the public service to a plane of honest efficiency, such as it never occupied before; yet the laboring masses have not been quieted in their suspicions. The awakened public well knew that the reform efforts of 1905 were a repetition of the old saying, "Lock the door after the horse is stolen." This is surely wiser than carelessly to continue leaving the door unlocked; but the suspicion in the hearts of the masses is that there are many doors yet open that ought to be closed. As the laboring men continue reading of the dishonest thousands who are living without work upon the proceeds of their pilfering, they will become more and more settled in their conviction that our social system is radically wrong, and that the army of workers will never get justice until a new economic system prevails. In this feverish discontent the millions of workers are trying to feel their way toward better conditions, and as soon as they can see a reasonable method of relief, the masses will move in that direction. The only reason the great mass of people suffer so long the evils they have endured, is because of their helplessness and ignorance of any open door of escape.

II.—UNFAIR LEGISLATION.

Another potent cause of discontent is unfair and unequal legislation, or a discrimination between the rich and poor under the law. This is nothing new, for it has been the curse of the ages, that, with few exceptions, the poor man always gets the hardest blow. As we look back to the middle ages and study its history, we find that the statutes of that period did not very much take into account the workingman. The laws were framed according to the wishes of the landlords, or more properly speaking, the feudal lords. If at any particular place a few workingmen tried to combine for mutual benefit, it was not long before a law was passed to prohibit such privileges. We are told by reliable writers that one of the great curses in England upon labor, existed in the laws regarding Apprentices. The employer and the public officers could legally work together, and they had power to fix the price of wages and to regulate the work and the workers. The masters in their heartlessness played the part of tyranny over the laborers more shamefully than was witnessed in the days of

American slavery. They could compel a person to start work as early as five o'clock in the morning, and to continue his labors until 7.30 o'clock in the evening and even later. These repulsive conditions continued, with varying intensity, to darken the social skies of England for six hundred years, and not until recently were these laws completely repealed. It is true that during the past one hundred years things have changed very much, but the real evil of discrimination has not yet ceased.

It is not difficult to see why a man of wealth is usually treated with more leniency than a man of no wealth. It is for that reason that we have considered the subject of Graft in this same chapter. It is commonly known that some men can be bought for a very low sum, and therefore, at certain times, the man of wealth can influence legislation in his favor. The common people would not feel the injustice so strongly, if the burden of this crime did not fall upon their shoulders.

The spirit of partiality in law that had cursed England so long, came over to America in the Mayflower. You need but read the simple laws that governed the early Colonists to see the tendency toward employers. The workingman's voice had but feeble influence, and this same spirit continued to darken the centuries of American life ever since.

In the running history of our great country, we have seen that the Capitalists and the great corporations have generally been able to secure legislation in their favor. What the laboring man received have been the few and far between measures. Civil government should have no respect to persons. Class legislation is a black crime which must be accounted for in the great days of reckoning at the hands of both human and divine government. And when we speak about partiality, we refer to the administration of the law as well as the making of it, for there is so much partiality shown in the execution of the law. The drunken member of a club house is sent home in a cab, and the drunken poor man is hurried off to the jail. Gambling in high places is frequently overlooked, while the "crap" players are brought to justice. Is it strange that the workingman should feel that injustice has been done to him when such partiality is administered by the courts, a sample of which we quote from the "Seattle Daily Times."

"Two weeks ago Tony Jurewich, virtually a vagrant, without friends or influence, was sentenced to fourteen years in the state penitentiary for stealing an old overcoat from a room in the Haddon Flats, the door of which he found open.

"To-day Clyde Clancy, an adept in a profitable profession, with good family connections and friends having political influence, was sentenced to thirty days in the county jail. His confessed crimes, covering a period of two years, include the robbery of scores of rooms, in as many hotels in Seattle and Tacoma, of clothing and other portables valued at hundreds of dollars.

"The cases of both criminals were handled by Prosecuting Attorney Mackintosh and both were sentenced by Superior Judge Griffin."

We also quote some instances from the "Appeal to Reason:"

HOW THE RICH EVADE THE LAW.

"The sons of rich men who spend their time gambling and consorting with harlots, having had their gambling dens in Chicago temporarily closed, chartered a ship and went out on the lake where the racing reports were wirelessly sent them and there gambled. This is known to all the people; the papers prate of it; the gamblers and the disreputables gloat over it—and what is done about it? Nothing. They are rich and the rich cannot be punished for crime. The officers say there is no law to punish them! But how quickly would a law be found to punish them if they were poor! If there were no law they would be punished without law."

"Indictments have been returned by the federal grand jury against the teamsters in Chicago on charges of violating 'police morals' and 'trade morals.' When labor undertakes to get better conditions for itself 'it is a conspiracy.' When a man like Bigelow filches a couple millions, it is a 'breach of trust.' Broken heads and jail sentences for the working class, and banquets and trips to Europe for the bankers who swindle confiding depositors."

It is very difficult for the laboring man to get laws passed in his favor. Recently the Legislature of Colorado refused to enact an eight-hour-day law after the people had sanctioned and demanded it by ballot. This was the voice of the working masses and it was not heeded by the lawmaking body. When corporations can so influence a State Legislature, is it not true that public government is at an end, and revolution is at hand? Nothing is so much the cause of the present uneasiness and the general disrespect for law as this partiality in its administration.

"Government should also protect the poor man's property against the rich man's fraud, as well as the rich man's property against the poor man's stealing. There are selfish and lawless men in each class that will get their neighbor's goods without an equivalent if they can. * * * If there is any difference, the rich banker, who steals the wages of the poor committed to his keeping, is a worse rogue than the sneak thief who steals the banker's overcoat, yet the last is stealing and the first is embezzlement, and if the embezzlement is managed with considerable skill, the criminal may still be in good society. Such false distinction should be done away with and all the thieves whether rich or poor be upon an equality."

Another source of uneasiness is the manner in which honest people are fleeced out of their money by misrepresentations and by common agreement amongst captains of finance. The great revelation along this line by Thomas W. Lawson in "Everybody's Magazine" will not be forgotten by the American people for a long time to come. Let us quote one of his general comments on the Wall Street Speculations:—

"The truth is that in high finance all civilized amenities have long been suspended. The black flag is to-day the Wall Street standard. Thuggery and assassination are so much the rule that nowadays all parties to a business transaction wear armor and carry stilettos. Property rights are vested in Power; the sole license to have, is strength to hold; to covet another man's railway or factory is, if you be the stronger, full warrant and charter to its possession.

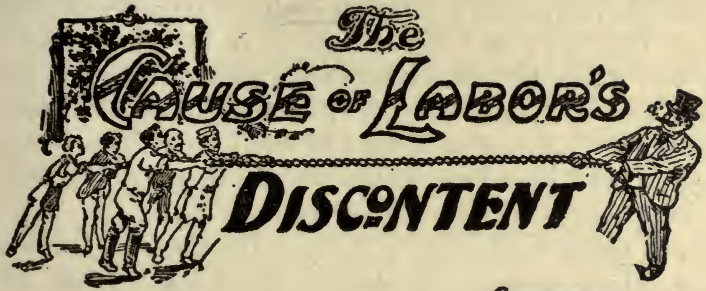
In the pursuit of 'made dollars' greed and cunning lead the pack; kindliness, fair dealing, and truth have lost the scent. To-day the penal code is Wall Street's bible; its priest, the corporation lawyer; conscience is a fear of legal consequences; the sole crime, being caught; talent and character are best proved by a large bank account; to err is to fail; continued success in speculation and a few years' immunity from retributive justice constitute a reputation for virtue and stability that finds its highest justification as a handy asset behind a bond issue.

"It is the deplorable fact that in carrying through the great deals that have marked the last few years, it has become a habit for men to lie, cheat, bribe, and commit perjury, and there is no more condemnation of such practices among those who are to-day the representatives of finance in America than there was in earlier times for the close-fisted driver of a hard but honest bargain."

Should anyone consider that this "word picture" of Wall Street is overdrawn, he has the privilege of investigating for himself, providing he has the necessary time and ability to do so. We feel safe in saying that any competent investigator will have his eyes more than opened after he has thoroughly completed his work as a detective. It required such a man like Lawson, who lived on both sides of the Wall Street fence, to give a full word picture of the black crimes committed in the dark in the name of decency, and even Christianity. These stealthy criminals escape the penalty of the law by secrecy, bluff, arrogance and bribery. The middle class and lower class of people are fleeced out of their money by all kinds of promising schemes, and, whenever the guilt has been properly placed, the offender is punished very lightly if punished at all, and the sufferer has no way to regain his lost money.

The day is not far distant when the large army of speculators will be called upon to do their share of honest work. It will then be seen how much of the Wall Street machinery is really necessary to the successful maintenance of our government.

CHAPTER IX.



D.

ARISING FROM THE EVILS OF COMPETITION.

One more cause of discontent among laborers is competition. We have been born and bred under the reign of our present industrial order, and it has been natural for us to believe that the things that are, are the things that ought to be; and he who doubts this is regarded by many as a pessimist, or as an impractical, dreamy reformer.

I.—ORIGIN OF COMPETITION.

Before competition became the ruling power of business, prices were regulated by custom or law under what is commonly known as the "Guild System." With the advent of machinery and the factory, new conditions arose which compelled the factory to undersell, so as to dispose of its larger output. This was the opening wedge of the competitive system, and it gave a new hum and bustle to business, and society waited in expectancy to see what yet might come of this new order.

All this happened in England a little after the Eighteenth Century; and the champion of the new principle was Adam Smith, whose great work entitled "The Wealth of Nations" was an epoch-maker. He argued that industry would take care of itself under free competition, and that both employer and employed would be duly protected by the correct poise of the ever natural balance. He held strictly to the doctrine *laissez faire,* which means "let alone," the world evolves of itself. The idea was that there should be no interference by the state with industrial competition. Mr. Smith argued at length that competition among laborers would prevent wages from going too high, and also competition among employers would keep wages from going too low; in other words, there would be a constant and just equilibrium preserved. We have no space in this single volume to give a larger view of Adam Smith's book. Any one who is interested can read it. Its teaching, coupled with the conditions previously mentioned, ushered in the new era of competition.

II.—CLAIMS FOR COMPETITION.

Adam Smith claimed that free competition would increase the production of wealth. His prophecy along this line has been fulfilled, only that wealth has come to one class and poverty to another. It was also claimed that competition would be the mother of invention. This claim has also been fully realized, and perhaps, there has been no greater blessing from competition than the stimulus it has given to individual effort. There should be no system of economics that would put brakes on the wheels of human progress; and no matter what kind of economic administration may exist, there should always be an incentive to study, invent, and discover, so that the human family will reach the most glorious goal possible in every realm of thought and endeavor. It was also claimed that competition would protect and elevate the laborer. This prophecy has not been fulfilled. This leads us to a necessarily brief consideration of

III.—EVIL EFFECTS OF COMPETITION.

1.—It Made Possible the So-Called White Slavery,

This is one of the most cruel phases of competition. The employers, wherever they saw an opportunity of using children, put them into the factory in order to save in the cost of production. The laws of health were little taken into consideration. In the beginning of the cruel system of competition, certain children were required to work twelve hours per day, and as they went to their beds, another lot went to the factory, and the greed of the operators was only satisfied when the factory wheels were humming day and night. The beds of the children never became cold. "One batch of children rested while another went to the looms, only half the requisite number of beds being provided for all. Epidemic fevers were rife in consequence. Medical inspectors reported the rapid spread of malformation of the bones, curvature of the spine, heart disease, rupture, stunted growth, asthma and premature old age among children and young persons; the said children and young persons, being worked by manufacturers without any kind of restraint.''

This is a partial glimpse of the early reign of competition before public indignation was aroused. When better conditions came, it was not because the employers became more benevolent and kind, but because the general cry of the people demanded reform.

We have had in our own country some deplorable conditions of white slavery, and all of this has proved that competition left to itself manifests a heartless, soulless and barbarous spirit. We will have more to say concerning the slavish effects of competition in another part of this book.

2.—Competition Has Slain Its Tens of Thousands.

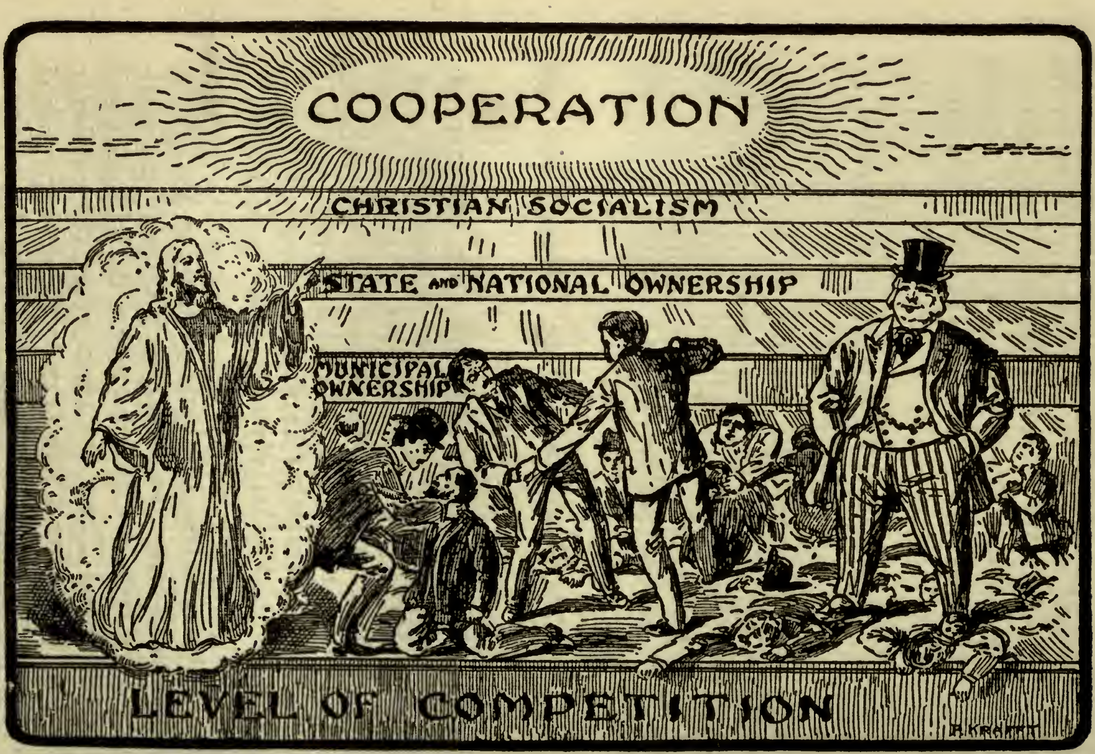
Not only the lives of children have been taken by the terrible strain brought upon their tender bodies through overwork, but hosts of adult workmen came to an untimely end by the lack of protection that should have been afforded to every workman. It is true that many laborers lose their lives through their own carelessness, but the more terrible fact remains that thousands go down every year just because the employing class give too little attention to the safety and welfare of their employees. This comes from such causes as unprotected machinery, unsanitary work-shops and other forms of carelessness and indifference on the part of the employing class. Under a true economic system there would be just as much effort made to protect the worker and to make his surroundings sanitary, pleasant and safe, as there would be to get the product of his labor. There would be no motive to have it otherwise, and if any should appear, the workers themselves could easily correct the evil, because they would in a large measure control the industry.

3.—COMPETITION IS INDIFFERENT TO THE WELFARE OF THE WEAK.

These are the ones who are left to perish in the struggle of life. They go down amidst groanings unutterable, being unfit to meet the conditions imposed upon them by competition. This is one of the darkest pictures of human society and is treated elsewhere in this book.

4.—COMPETITION PRODUCES AN EVIL EFFECT UPON THE EMPLOYER.

Under the spur of competition the employer is tempted to treat his employees as a commodity subject to the law of supply and demand, and to forget that his hirelings are human beings endowed with superior faculties and destined to an immortal existence. This continual forgetting hardens the soul of the employer, and robs him largely of human sympathy. He is consequently a heartless machine, grinding out the very lives of his employees into gold dollars for his vaults. This is one of the most heartless phases of competition, and the helpless worker suffers the bitterest end of the injustice. There are times when the employer suffers heavily, when he, in turn, is also being crushed by some power greater than himself; he then gets a taste of the sorrows that must be borne by his own employees altogether too often.


COOPERATION
CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM
STATE AND NATIONAL OWNERSHIP
MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP
LEVEL OF COMPETITION
R. KRAFFT

LEVEL OF COMPETITION.—No tongue or pen can describe the horrors of competition. Christ points the way to the higher level of Christian Socialism. Why are the masses so slow in obeying?

5.—COMPETITION COMPELS A LABORER TO BID AGAINST ANOTHER FOR WORK.

This is the most pitiful struggle of all the conflicts in the world; to find one class of helpless men underbidding another class in order to get bread to eat. These pictures are not so plentiful in times of so-called prosperity, but in times of panic it is terrible and heart-rending. This cruel state of affairs must come to an end, and the worker must be the prime mover in order to reach the desired end.

6.—COMPETITION HAS ENRICHED THE EMPLOYING CLASS AND DEGRADED THE LABORING CLASS.

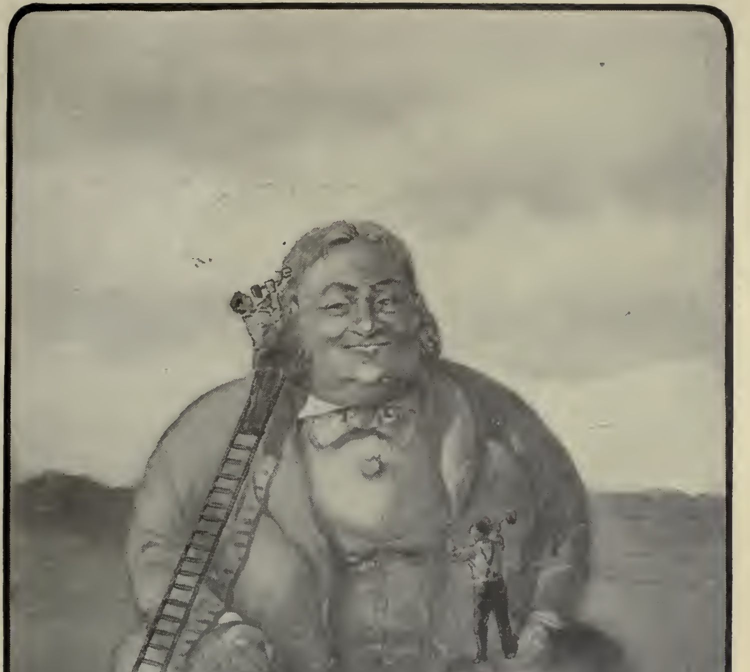
This phase of the question is considered in another part of the book.

7.—COMPETITION COMPELS AN ENORMOUS WASTE OF CAPITAL AND ENERGY.

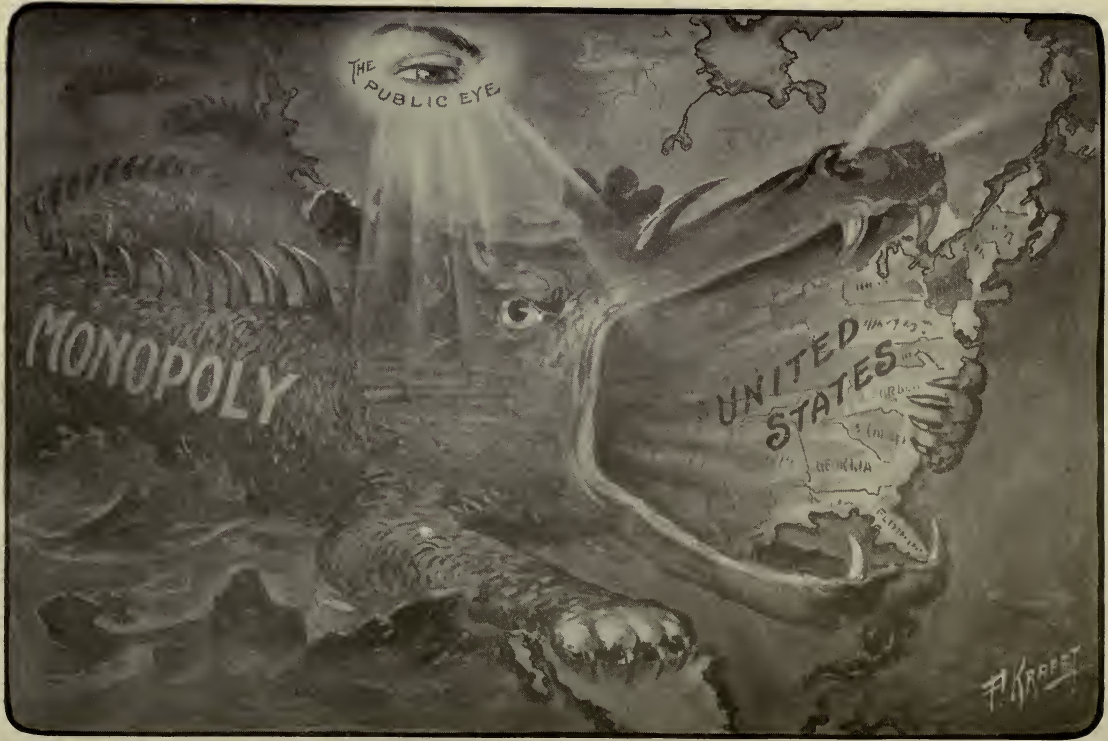
This is one more of the business considerations of this question. It is costing the general public much more to maintain the different competitive systems than it would under co-operative ownership and management, where public good instead of private gain is the controlling spirit. For example, here is a city, and its gas company has just been in business long enough to get "on its feet." About that time another gas company commences operation, and the streets of the city are dug up again to lay pipes along the same streets where the other company had already laid pipes. This new company offers special inducements, and the people are rejoicing over the fact that competition in gas has come so that prices will be kept down. This is one example that will serve to cover all the others. The people do not stop to think how much better it would be if the city or borough owned its own gas plant and operated it for the benefit of everybody. This is no dream. It has been practically proved that the people get better service and cheaper gas than can be furnished under any competitive system. It is a rule well established that people must pay for everything that is needlessly duplicated under competition. For a larger consideration of this subject read chapter entitled "Blessings Under Social Reform."

The laboring people are having their eyes opened, and for many years they have been studying and observing this peculiar system of competition, and, while they have been hearing on every hand that "competition is the life of trade," they are being more and more convinced that competition is the death of industry, and also their own death. As soon as some better system can be shown to be practical, it will not be long until the great change will be wrought, and from the present discontent and turmoil, there will be ushered in a period of human blessing heretofore unknown.

Competition was, and still is a hard schoolmaster to teach the people the curses of private ownership. These things must needs be in order for full enlightenment; but after the discipline of school days, shall come the period when knowledge will be used; and, when the proletarian or common worker gets down to hard thinking, nothing can stop him in his effort for larger liberty and a happier life.



THE IDOL OF MONOPOLY.—The workers of America have made unto themselves an idol called Monopoly, which many of them still admire and worship. Oh workers! This is not your god.


THE PUBLIC EYE
MONOPOLY
UNITED STATES
GEORGIA
F. KRAFFT

THE MONSTER OF MONOPOLY.—Monopoly is rapidly swallowing the whole country. We are thankful, however, that all this greed cannot and does not escape the public eye. It is to be hoped that very soon public opinion will deal a crushing blow to this monster.

CHAPTER X.

THE CAUSE OF LABOR'S DISCONTENT

CONCLUDED

E.

ARISING FROM TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

There is nothing in the line of human events that has sharpened the struggle between Capital and Labor more than the rise of Trusts and Monopolies in our country for the purpose of gratifying individual greed. This new and ominous cloud has terribly threatened our entire industrial, social and political life. A combination of business interests ought to be a blessing to humanity, and would be so, if the promoters kept in view the welfare of the masses; but under a system of private gain or self-appropriation at any cost, it proves to be a curse.

I.—BENEFITS OF MONOPOLY.

The great promoters of Monopoly in our country have unconsciously and unwittingly taught the people the possible blessings that would flow to them if the Government, instead of a limited number of people, owned and controlled the industries. Under government ownership, *all* the people would reap the benefit of a most perfect monopoly. The laborer and the capitalist would then be more nearly on one common level, neither one being compelled to grind out his life to enrich the other. We mention a few advantages resulting from the formation of Trusts and Monopolies.

1. The expense of securing and manufacturing the raw material is lessened.

2. The distribution of goods is effected with much less expenditure of work and money.

3. Our markets abroad are more thoroughly and systematically developed.

4. All surplus products are utilized to greater advantages.

Under our present system all these benefits flow into the purse of the magnates or the monopolists, and the people do not get any more benefit than can be avoided. It is due to this fact that public sentiment has been keenly aroused, and the public eye can look clear through the great and hideous monster Monopoly as he is greedily and rapaciously swallowing the whole country.

II.—EVILS OF MONOPOLY.

We have seven charges against Monopoly as now operated for private gain.

1.—It Forces the Small Competitors to Surrender to Its Terms or Die.

From no prison pen could there arise a more bitter cry than has come up from the thousands of small dealers who have been crushed by the merciless competition caused by Monopoly. This process has been called cut-throat competition, and it reveals a fiendish state of affairs. The American Ice Company, according to "Collier," "sold its ice in most localities for thirty cents a hundred, and in another locality where competition existed, it reduced the price to ten cents a hundred so as to crush out its competitors." This kind of cruel slaughtering has been practiced on the weaker through all the reigns of Monopoly. The Standard Oil Company has ruthlessly walked over the small dealers who happened to be in its way; recently it threatened the army of producers in the Kansas oil fields, just because they could not at first be whipped into abject surrender. Others have given almost numberless instances of cut-throat competition as practiced by the powerful Standard Oil, and by the hosts of other Trusts and Monopolies that are making the very heavens black with the ominous approach. The ruling spirit of Monopoly is purely mercenary, and it seems to have no more pity for the small dealers than a cat has for a mouse as it pounces upon it.

A few years ago, Mr. H. O. Havemeyer, President of the American Sugar Refining Company, or, in other words, the Sugar Trust, concluded his testimony before the Industrial Commission in connection with its investigation of trusts by saying, "I do not care two cents for your ethics. I am talking about business. Business is not philanthropy, the fate of rival concerns is their affair, not ours."

2.—It Robs the Public.

This is one more phase of the curse of private ownership. There are certain Monopolies which will go to any extreme to get control of a certain line of necessities, and then fix their own price for them. This is regarded by many as a shrewd business transaction, but in reality it is cornering the market, and, as we said in a former chapter, it is a species of highway robbery which will be just as unlawful some day as for a man to steal a coat or a chicken.

When Monopoly was still a child in this country, it showed its real spirit. As far back as 1887, a New York Syndicate bought up the stock of three of the gas companies, and organized a "Gas Trust." Gas went up twenty-five cents per 1,000 feet. In 1887-8, the Coal Trust refused to put down the price of coal to the poor settlers in Dakota, Montana and other states. As a consequence, many of the people froze to death. In 1896, according to a good authority, there were eleven leading coal companies that controlled the output of nearly fifty million tons of coal. To use a common phrase, they "got their heads together" and worked in harmony. They claimed that the coal business was done at a loss, so coal went up thirty-five cents a ton. Look at the Meat Trust, the Rubber Trust, and hundreds of others ostensibly formed for the purpose of cheapening the output, though in reality, prices afterwards advanced. This is what we should expect when the Trusts have thir own way. *This rule holds good: if the present order of private ownership is to continue, then competition should have the widest scope. Under a system of public ownership there would be no need of this heartless competition and robbery.*

Some Trusts start in with a glorious motto. They pretend that they are combining business interests for the benefit of the public, and to make good their pretense they actually give lower prices for a season. Finally, the true nature of the serpent manifests itself and greed is written over all.

3.—It Takes Advantage of the Workers.

One of the lowest forms of business dealing is witnessed when a corporation wilfully restricts the output of a certain article in order to raise the price. This not only means that the public is fleeced, but that the wage-earners are kept idle part of the time and therefore the suffering is felt by both the workers and the consumers.

It is also a custom of Trusts to order a certain amount of a product from one part of its works, and then, after times have been good at that place for a while, they shift the work at another season to another part of the works they control, and the men at the former place are put on half time or are kept idle for a while. This manner of dealing with workmen proves in what small regard the welfare of the worker is held. There are exceptions to the above practice where corporations really have more factories than they can keep busy all the time, so they distribute the work. The conditions that make this necessary is one of the strongest arguments against the whole system of Monopoly for private gain.

We learn from a minister, of a certain firm that had an investment of five million dollars, that the business was so profitably conducted that it paid handsome dividends on twenty-five millions of stock. To do this, it worked many of its men seven days in the week, amidst crowded machinery, where the danger to life was so great that leading life insurance companies refused to take them as risks. Once the men struck against Sunday work, but they lost their point and were compelled to go to work on Sundays again. The stockholders in that concern are becoming millionaires, while their workingmen who are not ground up among their mill wheels, keep on living from hand to mouth, and when worn out, will be turned out as paupers, or be supported by children who work in the same helpless, hopeless way.

4.—CERTAIN CORPORATIONS RESTRICT THE DEALER TO THEIR OWN PRODUCTS.

The "North American" of December 12, 1904, relates the experience of Caroline Pemberton, which we here reproduce:

"Not long ago, I asked in a department store for a certain article which I knew to be of superior quality and low in price. The clerk told me promptly that the store did not sell the article because it was made by an Anti-Trust firm. I went to another large store, made the same inquiry and received the same reply. I tried other stores, with the same result. They offered me goods of inferior quality and higher in price —goods that were made by the Trusts—but they did not keep the article I asked for because it was Anti-Trust."

" 'Why can't you keep both Trust and Anti-Trust goods?' I asked."

" 'The Trust won't let us' was the astonishing reply."

" 'How can the Trust people prevent your keeping what you know your customers buy?' I asked."

" 'They won't let us have their goods to sell if we keep Anti-Trust goods—and that would ruin our business.' "

This may not seem like a very serious matter, but upon reflection, one will observe that it is a great evil to the public to shut off meritorious goods, to say nothing of the boycott placed upon the retailer.

5.—Monopoly Robs the Small Producer.

It depresses the price of raw materials, and the marketable goods raised or grown by the farmers. Under our peculiar age of Monopoly rule the middleman who buys the wheat is robbed, and the one who raises the wheat is also robbed. The advantage is taken at both ends of the deal. The farmers of the great west are becoming more and more subject to the kings of Monopoly, who are rapidly coming into possession of all the means of transportation. This enables Monopoly to buy from the farmers, not at the farmer's price, but at the price Monopoly dictates. Think a moment and see what the end of this will be.

6.—Certain Monopolies Defy the Law.

In the light of the great Supreme Court decision of the United States in dissolving the Northwestern Securities Merger in the early part of 1904, it is not necessary to give any further proof under this charge than the fact that great lawyers were backed by great capitalists to defeat the purpose and intent of the law. This is one great example.

Another famous example was seen in the attitude of the Coal Monopoly when all efforts were made by the public to have the differences arbitrated. The cry of the Coal Trust still rings in our ears: "Arbitrate nothing! There is nothing to arbitrate!" Other examples of the evasion of the law are legion.

7.—Certain Monopolists Take Advantage of Their Power and Bribe Politicians, Legislators and Congressmen.

This charge is not wholesale, for we could not prove that all corporations are guilty of such crimes, but we could furnish an interesting budget of information to prove our point if space permitted, or if it were necessary.

The politicians and the Trusts may play with the fire for a time without being burnt, but the conflagration will lighten the sky with its lurid red until the army of workingmen will see the signal of danger and rise to rescue the nation. There is a limit even to the patient endurance of free American citizens.

III.—TIDAL WAVES OF PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST MONOPOLY.

In view of these seven charges against Monopoly, is it strange that the public should rise up in arms against it? There have been three great tidal waves of public sentiment against Monopoly in the United States since the year 1870, and peculiar as it may seem, the Standard Oil Company has been a prominent figure against which the waves have dashed each time. In 1872, the small oil dealers of Pennsylvania broke out in fury when they learned that the Standard Oil Monopoly had induced certain railroads to discriminate against them in regard to freight rates. The public press and the public conscience were greatly aroused, and after the heat of the battle had subsided, it was supposed that the passage of the Granger laws would hold in check the power of the great oil company. The public rested in this confidence, and while they slept, the octopus-like arms of this young Standard Oil Company were quietly reaching over the whole industrial life of the country. Many an individual and many a small company went down to ruin before the ever slimy crawl of this monster of Monopoly.

Again the public mind broke bounds in 1887, and as an outgrowth of this second war on Monopoly, the Interstate Commerce Law was passed. This meant that the United States Government would have jurisdiction over all business relations covering territory in two or more states of the Union. It was very shortly after the passage of this law that the great oil company passed under the hammer of a cross-examination, and the facts that were evolved from this proceeding, astonished an awakened public. The greed and unlimited power of the Standard Oil Trust were heralded all over the country, and silence did not come as quickly as the monopolists had expected. Sentiment became so fixed throughout the nation that the famous Sherman Anti-Trust Law was passed in 1890. This law was based upon the provision of the Constitution which gives Congress power to regulate trade or commerce among the states and with foreign nations. The purpose of this law was clear enough, but the serpent of Monopoly is more slippery than an eel, and it usually manages, by one twist or another, to escape the grasp of the law. This smartness will not be endured forever, for justice will sicken the great monster and he will be glad to throw up the country to daylight, and he himself will roll back to the depths and die.

From the year 1890 on, the press and the public never went back to utter indifference again regarding the Trusts of the country. There has been more or less agitation ever since. Following the action of the United States Senate, comes the action of separate states against Trusts. There is a deep meaning in the widespread antagonism to Monopoly as seen by the Anti-Trust laws passed in so short a time over so wide a territory.

In the year 1897, New York passed a law to prevent Monopolies; and Illinois, an act prohibiting Pools, Trusts and Combines. Also Kansas, Arkansas, Indiana and Missouri each passed an Anti-Trust act. In the same year Florida passed an act relating to Trusts and Monopolies for the control of trade in cattle. Also in this same year the states of Wisconsin, South Carolina, North Carolina, and other states passed similar acts to prohibit Trusts and Combinations in trade. Some of these states enacted their laws prior to or shortly after the year 1897. Thus the whole country has been sounding its Anti-Monopoly bugle until the kings of greed are trembling on their thrones.

What called forth all this legislation? It was the ever rapidly growing movements toward centralization of Capital. There were not only many corporations, but the great corporations were consolidating and combining. In some instances hundreds of millions of dollars of capital were brought together under one large management, and tens of thousands of men became subject to that same management, and it frequently occurred that these vast corporations were in the grip of one or two persons at whose simple command wonderful changes might occur. The phrase, "the billion-dollar trust," was common among the people. It was learned that one of the large corporations cleared in net profits in one year $40,000,000. Such facts as these stirred up the whole mass of the common people, and quickened the thought of the age, and restlessness became everywhere more prevalent. The great majority of people thought that it was an unsafe and unjust condition of affairs to have so much power wrapped up in the hands of such a few private citizens.

As the last light of the Nineteenth Century was dying we found that there were over one-hundred corporations each of which had a capitalization of $10,000,000 or over. All these vast business combinations were effected so suddenly that the public mind was not prepared for it. To put the whole statement in a nutshell, we might say that the Twentieth Century opened with about five hundred large Trusts and Monopolies in the United States with a capitalization of over $8,000,000,000; and, aside from these, there were about five hundred Pools and Monopolies which were not incorporated. A list of all these great combinations can be found in the Annual Reports of the Commercial Journals.

The next and greatest tidal wave against Monopoly swept over the country in 1905. Warm conflicts were experienced before this year was half over, but the struggle continued with increasing earnestness and success by the masses. An aroused public sentiment is expressing itself in independent and fusion tendencies in political action, and already large corporations are making concessions. The details of this public uprising would require an entire volume for its full discussion. The public mind will not soon forget the exposures of Thomas Lawson in "Everybody's Magazine," and the bringing to light of the dark schemes of great insurance companies, and the revealing of discriminating rates by railroad companies, and a host of other incidents that passed in quick succession.

It is not strange that crookedness in dealing on such a gigantic scale should terrify the hearts of the people and make them suspicious that unknown evils might follow to the poor and helpless workers. This naturally explains why the legislative bodies commenced to pass laws that would prevent any one man or corporation from becoming the sole owner of a state; for indeed, the way events had been occurring, it would not be difficult for a few corporations, by uniting, to gain virtual control of all the great business interests in one state, and this same process might be continued until the nation was owned or controlled by a few great magnates.

During the stormy times of the past in regard to the trust question, there have been many able minds engaged in discusing the best remedies. This phase of the subject has been carefully considered in publications and addresses since 1890, and even now the solution seems to be farther away than years ago. We will mention a few of the remedies that have been suggested.

IV.—HOW TO CURE THE TRUST EVIL.

1.—The Acquirement of More Extensive Foreign Markets.

This idea is offered by Hon. W. M. Collier. We infer that this theory is to find a ready and sufficient market for all of the products of our American industries, so that the great corporations can keep all their works going all the time.

Concerning this remedy, we have this to say, that it savors of more cruelty to the American worker than is at first thought imagined. The principal ones who would profit by a sufficient foreign market to receive all our surplus products, would be the Trusts. It would mean that while labor might have more constant employment, the hardships of the laborer in every particular would be increased if the corporations could so compel it. By reason of the great wealth of our country, our workingmen would be more and more compelled to work like slaves to make the rich richer and to help feed the rest of the world.

2.—ABOLITION OF ALL SPECIAL PRIVILEGES CONFERRED BY LEGISLATIVE BODIES TO TRUSTS.

This is the idea of Hon. Jerry Simpson who was the Populist member of Congress from Kansas. There is no doubt that Monopolies have received many favors which have enabled them to increase their dividends, but it is very doubtful if many of the evils of the trust system would be abolished if all laws were neutral to them. At least we are free to express an opinion that this remedy would not cure the Trust evils.

3.—PREVENT OVER-CAPITALIZATION.

This idea would compel all corporations to issue stock only for the actual value of their property. We will spend no time in discussing the merits or demerits of this suggestion. We believe that it can be easily seen by careful thinking that this would be no more effective than the first method suggested. It certainly would not be corrective in its results.

4.—COMPEL "PUBLICITY" OF ALL TRUST MATTERS.

This is offered by a number of different writers, and has been dwelt upon more as a corrective measure than many other remedies that have been proposed.

President Roosevelt urged publicity in many of his great speeches. There is no doubt but that this proposed remedy would be a step in the right direction under our present system of economics. In fact, nearly all the remedies suggested would be in order, but especially compulsory publicity. This would help to protect the investor, and would tend to prevent undue prices and would be otherwise corrective in many respects.

5.—Regulation of Trusts by Law.

(*a*) Laws to regulate the corporate management.

(*b*) The state must declare criminal any combination for the raising of prices.

(*c*) It must prevent all partiality among parallel and contemporary competitors.

(*d*) The purposes for which corporations can be formed should be limited. This is a suggestion of Prof. H. C. Adams.

(*e*) The amount of capitalization should be limited. This is a suggestion given seriously by some minds, but upon careful thought it can be seen that it is not worthy of much consideration, just because it is impracticable.

(*f*) Pass laws to limit the dividends of corporations.

This appears also to be weak and impracticable.

6.—Kill the Trusts.

This is a very natural suggestion and comes largely from the great ranks of the common people. If this remedy were to be applied fully, it would mean a return to the old conditions of competition between small dealers. This seems to be the idea in view by the passing of so many anti-trust laws; nearly forty states taking part, and saying by their actions, "The Trusts must be stamped out." The most thoughtful of our people hesitate in accepting this as the best remedy. They seem to see that large business concerns are necessary for the large country in which we are living, and it is viewed as a backward step to force upon the general public the old time conditions.

We believe that present conditions have taught all the people that there are some advantages in a general corporate control of a certain line of industries, and the best solution of the problem will be given by the man who can suggest a plan whereby the "private gain" idea will be eliminated from the Trusts and the public reap the benefit. This brings us to state what we believe to be the best of all remedies.

7.—Let All the Trusts and Monopolies be Operated for the Benefit of the Public.

This means national ownership of all industries, or as many of them as the people wish to absorb collectively. This is a great question, and we will not take time now to discuss it farther here, but will take it up more fully in certain other chapters of this book.

The foregoing are a few of the many remedies that have been offered to cure the Trust evil. Concerning the last remedy mentioned, there has been much opposition expressed, and also much has been said in favor of it. It is, indeed, a burning question of the age as to which is preferable, the public or private ownership of the industries. We invite you to wait until you have read all the chapters of this book before you form your opinion as to the reasonableness of the seventh remedy above given.

That the Trusts and Monopolies in the United States have caused great discontent and restlessness among the laboring class is quite apparent to the careful student of the times.

CHAPTER XI.

The World Wide Struggle Against Monopoly

We have referred mainly to the United States and partly to England in our preceding statements concerning Trusts and Monopolies. The situation as it is now seen in the United States is only a modification of similar conditions that are prevailing in other parts of the globe. It is both interesting and profitable to take a bird's-eye view of the Trusts, Monopolies and of the Labor agitations as they are playing their changing dramas on the great stage of the civilized world. The facts that we shall hereafter present in this chapter have been gathered by original investigation, and from certain reports of consuls of the United States who sent special reports in answer to instructions from the department of state. Let us first take a passing glance at

AUSTRIA.

The city of Vienna is designated as the birthplace of the Trusts of Central Europe, and the 9th of May, 1873, is mentioned as the day of their birth, because from that time on their increase has been more apparent. It was on the day above mentioned that the first large Trust was formed in Austria as a consequence of the long, competitive struggles among the Steel-rail rolling works. From 1843 to 1873 was the great period of railway construction during which a number of new works had been established, but when 1873 came the demand for rails dropped to about one-half. This condition would have forced a number of single factories into idleness, had it not been that a Combination was formed by which each factory received its percentage of work. Such a Combination was beneficial both to the worker and the owner. If such blessings could follow in the wake of all trade combinations the whisper of suspicion and the cry of danger would not be heard.

Since 1873 the number of Austria's trade combinations has steadily increased until now it includes nearly all articles of manufacture, but the idea of mutual benefit to both Capital and Labor has gradually died out, and the far-reaching struggle of competition has pushed many of the small dealers to one side where they lay bruised and mangled by their fall. The survival of the shrewdest and the strongest has placed many financial kings on the throne, where they rule with a scepter of tyranny and greed. To counterbalance the possible evils that might result from these business Combinations, Labor Unions sprang up all over the country. The law-making bodies of Austria also met the situation by drafting a bill concerning Trusts and Rings, but the law has not yet become effective and therefore Austria has the same fight on hand as the United States.

The world will watch the outcome with interest, especially since wages have increased with the increase in the price of goods, only that the increase in wages has not been equal to the increase in the price of life's necessities. There have also been more strikes than ever before.

Austria has taken the Labor question into politics, and its socialistic vote is not far from one million. There have been for some years past, members in Parliament who have been asserting themselves in a very definite way.

SWITZERLAND.

This little country has attracted the attention of all the civilized world because of its unique policy in home government. It has maintained its distinctive qualities in the midst of difficulties. Dr. B. F. Kidder said some years ago in the "Homiletical Review":—

"The Swiss Republic's prosperity and greatness rest, first of all, on the fundamental idea of liberty. The spirit of Tell still lives among his native mountains. The critics may prove that he was a myth; but it makes no difference to the Swiss. To them he is a glorious reality. The spirit of this freedom first manifested itself in strong, concerted action in a struggle closely resembling that of the American colonists.

"A second fundamental idea, lived up to by this country, is the equality of man. The fourth article of the Constitution declares, 'all Swiss are equal before the Law.' A striking application of this principle is seen in the fact that Switzerland has three national languages,—German, French and Italian—while these three races dwell side by side on terms of perfect equality. No one of them can be said to be more patriotic than the others, and no one of them desires to sever the bonds of confederation. Switzerland, further, has no useless monarch, no haughty nobility, no idle aristocracy; all officials are chosen from among the people, and serve at moderate salaries; no man is pensioned; there is no standing army, yet every man is a soldier; the democratic spirit dominates everything; the people are sovereign; the freedom of the press, of conscience, and of belief, are guaranteed by the Constitution."

FRANCE.

Of all the great nations France has the least number of Trusts, because to organize them is contrary to law. Years ago a severe punishment was meted out to those who made themselves masters of the stocks, and who thereby took advantage of the scarcity they had created by raising the prices. As early as the time of Charlemagne, certain laws against Monopolies were rigidly enforced; but Sully abolished all these decrees, and after his death they were again established by Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. As far back as 1793, it became an offense punishable by death for any man, or number of men, to corner necessary commodities and hold them from circulation, thereby causing the people to suffer. In a few instances the death penalty was carried into effect. This severe law is still on the statute books of France. In modern years the government is quite indifferent to the formation of Trusts, and, consequently, there have sprung up some powerful organizations. The combinations have been effected along nearly the same lines as we find in our own country. The sale of petroleum is in the hands of a powerful organization. The pig-iron industry is controlled by a joint stock company, and this one company practically controls the whole iron business of France. The reason that these and many other combinations are allowed to work, is due to political chicanery.

It appears that the agitation against the evils of Monopoly is not popular with the people. This battle is left to a few socialistic radicals who find it impossible to create much general sentiment. The evils of Trusts in France have not been so manifest as in the United States, and, for that reason, the people are more indifferent regarding them. The main reason why the people are more contented, is because wages have increased more during the last fifty years than the cost of living. Also, in many localities, the workingmen are given a share of the profits they earn.

Notwithstanding the apparent indifference in France, it is, nevertheless, believed that there are more than 800,000 adult males in the country who are quietly and openly in league with socialistic ideas. They are not banded together in a permanent organization, and, therefore, the development of the new thought has been irregular. All the conditions are present for a political movement, and, when once the proper leader takes the cause in hand, it will suddenly spring to the front.

GERMANY.

The organization of syndicates in Germany began nearly a half century ago. Since then they have steadily increased, until at the present time there are over four hundred, and they cover practically the whole field of industrial activity. The entire question of trade combination is so vast and complicated in this country, and it has been discussed so fully, that the subject has a literature of its own. If all these discussions were gathered together in print it would form a small library. The industries of Germany are more thoroughly syndicated than in any other country of the globe.

Looking at the Labor side of the question, there are many unions well organized and just as active in their work as the magnates of Capital are in theirs. The compositors and printers are thoroughly organized, and exercise a decisive influence in book-publishing which is one of the important industries of Germany. The Labor Unions are not operated on the same plan and with the same intensity as in the United States, because the agitation against Trusts is mild compared with that of certain other countries. The reason for this is due to three facts:

(1) Those at the head of the Trusts have been wise enough to exercise their privileges without causing the people to suffer. They have settled values in certain commodities and, therefore, they have a more settled market.

(2.) The publicity given to the work of these Corporations threw off suspicion and criticism. There must be a periodical publication of each syndicate showing the exact condition of the company's affairs, and any faithless or dishonest director of the stock company is speedily punished.

(3.) There is a popular sentiment in Germany that syndicates are a necessary element to true business advancement, and that these combinations are necessary to secure a large foreign trade. The extraordinary developments of commercial and manufacturing interests have also had a quieting effect on the people. The workers of Germany compared with those of other countries receive smaller pay, but "ignorance is bliss," and as long as this contentment continues, the people will suffer privations rather than become restless and clamor for better conditions.

ENGLAND.

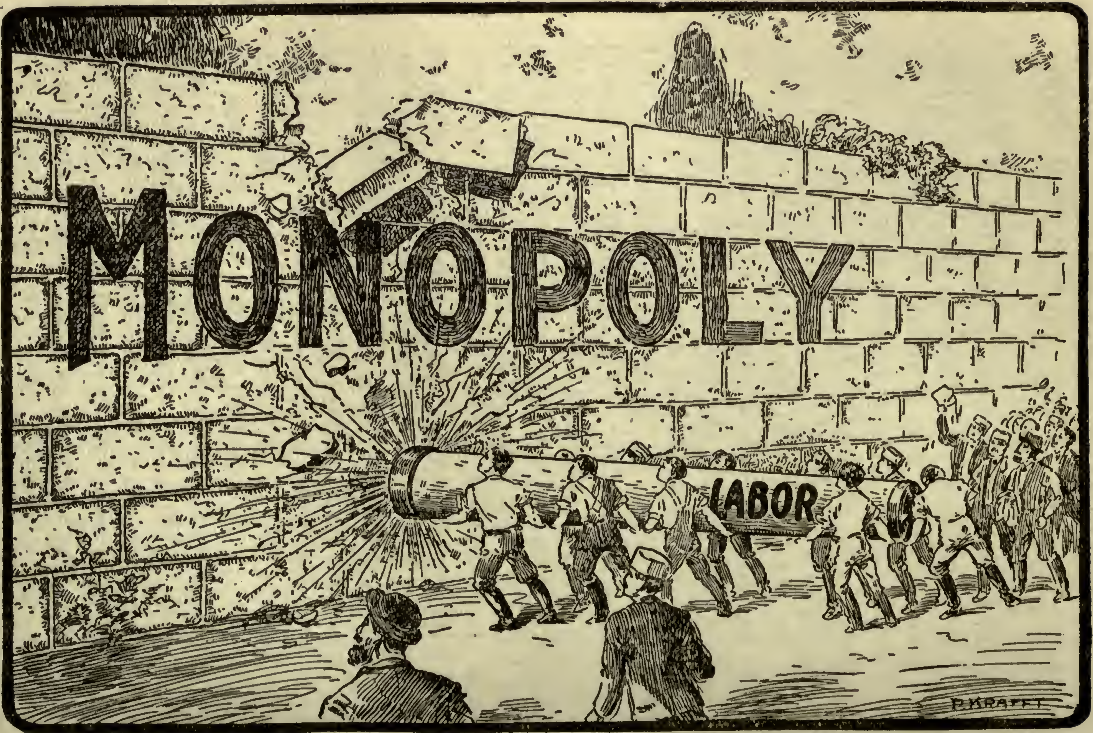
This is also one of the countries which has been afflicted by the Trust mania. London is the great center, and it is estimated that nine-tenths of England's trade combinations have their head-quarters in this famous city. Railway and Brewing Companies form certain combinations for self-protection. Many attempts have been made to form "Rings," or "Corners," but these are of an entirely different nature from Trusts or Trade Combinations, being merely speculative dealing or gambling. There are certain combinations that have affected the business life of the empire, such as the "Fine Cotton Spinners," "Sewing Cotton Combination," "British Lustering

Syndicate,'' ''United Alkali Co.,'' ''Wall Paper Trust'' and the ''Coal Trust.''

We might proceed to mention a long list of Trusts, but this is not necessary, inasmuch as the United Kingdom of Great Britain has fostered various kinds of Trade Combinations almost without a protest. The workingmen have attempted to organize in a mild fashion compared to the Labor Organizations of our country. In the year 1900, Mr. John Galloway made an effort in the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, to force legislation against the formation of large Associations, Trusts, Syndicates or Combines. All his efforts were unavailing, and it seems that there was but little stir over the matter. The majority who would have power to act, seemed to think that the motion of Mr. Galloway was not worthy of serious consideration, and the ''Daily Mail,'' one of the influential papers of Glasgow, discussed the whole situation briefly and terminated with these words: ''In a free country such as ours, there can be no law against freedom of combination for commercial purposes. The remedy that is required is not legislation but competition.''

The only explanation of this indifference is that the country has not felt the most cruel pangs of Monopoly. The dark side of the question will not be fully seen until greater antagonism is manifested toward the kings of the Trusts. When that time comes, Labor will be more aggressive in its efforts to secure justice for all.

Although England is the greatest field to study Socialism, yet it has been one of the slower countries to express itself politically. Perhaps the people are more thoroughly educated and more in favor of socialistic principles than in any other country in the world.


MONOPOLY
LABOR
P. KRAFFT

LABOR AGAINST MONOPOLY.—Labor is learning how to combine so as to use its battering ram against Monopoly. Labor will finally win the battle.

One of the oldest and most important organizations that sowed the seeds of Socialism was called the "Democratic Federation" which, a short time later, in the year 1883, adopted the name of "Social Democratic Federation." Under this last name the organization has been a great power, and contemporary with it, came the "Socialistic League" and also the "Fabian Society;" and other organizations that have issued books and periodicals and have sent out lecturers. All these influences have helped to make England one of the most up-to-date countries on Socialism in the world.

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

These two aggressive countries are waking out of their sleep, and as they are brushing the dust from their eyes, they are looking with a keen glance over the fair morning of promise, and it is believed that their strides toward the socialistic ideals will be more regular and positive. By reason of their proximity they have profited and will continue to profit by mutual observation and avoid many of the painful experiences through which England has passed. One of the most successful experiments of the public or municipal ownership of industries, is that of the city of Glasgow, Scotland, where street railways, gas-works and water-works are owned by the city, at an enormous saving to the people. The Glasgow system has become the study of many Americans.

RUSSIA.

The enemies of Socialism are always confounding Nihilists and Anarchists with Socialists. This is absurd, and only indicates the ignorance of him who allows himself to be confused on these subjects. Nihilism is a most violent expression of opposition to the government by the more vicious class of laborers in Russia, who think they have no other way to express their indignation. Bomb-throwing and assassination are their familiar weapons. Russia has been binding the chains upon her subjects for centuries. She has first tantalized her subjects by granting them privileges of education and certain liberties, and then about the time the people were to enjoy the benefits of liberty, Russia refused to allow them to enter upon them. It is easy to see how Nihilism could grow in such a soil. There is a continual censorship over the people, and he who criticises the Government is sent into exile in the wild wastes of Siberia. The one who loses patience and utters expressions of protest, has the privilege of being a martyr to the cause of liberty, and Russian history is full of incidents where heroic or defiant subjects have been put to death.

It is remarkable how these Nihilists give their lives for the cause of liberty, and how they gladly execute any secret task, knowing that they are subject to detection, and execution. When those who are caught are shot or hanged, they die without relenting.

No power can hold the proletarian down when once he gets the perfume of the breath of liberty, and consequently the people of Russia are kindling new fires of enthusiasm secretly and openly, and the rights of the common people are being pushed to the front. A few brave men, such as Tolstoi, have championed the cause of the common people in the name of liberty, and the war with Japan has been one more death-blow to despotism on the throne of Russia. We are therefore glad to relate, that over that country of sunset gloom, there is arising the morning sun of true liberty and true recognition of the relation of man to man, and before the Twentieth Century shall have run its quarter its people will stand in the glory of the new light, and who knows, but that they will take at the same bound, some of the lofty ideals of Christian Socialism.

BELGIUM.

In this small country, the matter of Trusts and Monopolies has not come to the front as in many other countries, but the cause of labor is considered more than in eight other countries in Europe. The principles of Socialism are rapidly entering the political arena, and already there have been polled half a million votes directly and indirectly expressive of social ideals. The world of Labor gladly welcomes this young and thrifty host of voters into its ranks.

THE AUSTRALIAN STATES.

The labor movement in the Australian States received its prime inspiration in 1890. Around this period a political party with a clear-cut platform arose in nearly all the States. We will present a few facts as gathered by Miss Lillian Locke of Melbourne and published in "Social Progress," 1905.

"At the present time, 1904, in the second Parliament of the Australian commonwealth, labor is represented by thirty-eight pledged members, fourteen of whom are in the Senate, which contains thirty-six members, and during the past year we have witnessed the unique spectacle of a labor government which held office for four members. The party is now in possession of the opposition benches.

"In New South Wales, from 1895 to 1901, the strength of the Parliamentary party was about eighteen or nineteen, increasing again to twenty-five. Candidates are pledged to the political Labor League platform (which does not differ in essentials from that adopted by the other States). They are also pledged to vote, especially on questions affecting the fate of a government, as a majority of a duly constituted caucus may decide.

"Victoria sent four Labor men into Parliament in 1889, and the party, though unpledged, increased to eleven in a house of ninety-five members by the year 1902. In the elections of 1904 the party was successful in securing nineteen seats, notwithstanding the fact that a reduction of nearly one-third in the number of members was carried out, and that Conservative governments had held sway for a number of years previously."

WEST AUSTRALIA.

"Trade unionism is in West Australia, as in Queensland, the bedrock of the labor movement. In both houses of the Federal Parliament the Labor men secured every seat but two. The first Trades Union Congress was held in 1898, when some 4,000 workers were represented. At the present time, 1904, there are about 30,000 workers organized. Seven pledged Labor men were returned to Parliament in 1900, while at the last elections they had increased to twenty-three, and a Labor Cabinet, which includes one Liberal Minister in the Upper House, is now holding the reins of government."

TASMANIA.

"Tasmania is slowly but surely being brought into line with the other States as regards the labor movement. There are at present only four Labor representatives in the State Parliament, but there are indications that a great awakening will take place before long owing to the bad conditions of the workers, the incubus of unjust taxation, and the loss of population owing to land monopoly and other causes."

If it were necessary we might also give a brief description of Capital and Labor in all the other civilized countries of the globe. But we have given enough to illustrate the universal uprising of Labor. One of the first great facts we learn when viewing the whole situation is that the struggle between Capital and Labor is one of the most complicated of all the contests in the world. We learn from the condition of things in Austria that long years may be required to settle the restlessness occasioned by these two great forces. We learn from the very brief consideration of France that legislation against Monopoly can be very helpful. From Germany we learn the lesson that it is possible for centralization of Capital to grow without arousing serious suspicion in the minds of the public. Each one of these countries furnishes its peculiar lesson to us on the burning question of Capital and Labor But the United States is the chief field of agitation in the world to-day. The more discussion that takes place, the more it becomes apparent that the two sides of the great conflict are preparing for a long siege. The civilized world is watching the outcome of this struggle in the great country of freedom, and no doubt, the history of the near future will have some very interesting facts to relate.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMING
DISASTER

The signs of the times can be read at every turn in our civilization. The rapidly increasing wealth of our country under the reign of capitalism and its concentration in the hands of the few is clearing the way for our downfall as a nation. This history of past ages has proved that wealth is the mother of luxury; luxury the mother of vice; vice the mother of political corruption which, if unchecked, ends in national death. This is the brief story of the ultimate curse of wealth under private ownership; and, if we are to predict the future by the past and present, we would say that disaster and death are not far distant unless we change the course of our action, and create a new system of economics by which our wealth will be more equally distributed.

Wealth is one of the most deceitful things in our life. It deceives the ones who possess it; the ones who are in pursuit of it, and those who never expect to enjoy it. Its curse has drawn a black mark all through the pages of human history from the earliest ages of man. The God inspired Jeremiah, a long time before Christ came, uttered these words, "He that getteth riches, and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and at his end shall be a fool." These are sharp and painful words, and have proved to be true down to the present time. There may be certain rich people who have gotten their riches by right, but there are many who have gotten them dishonestly. "They shall leave them in the midst of their days" ought to be enough to discourage any man from the pursuit of wealth along an evil path. Some of those who have gotten their riches "not by right," drop off suddenly without a day's warning, while sitting at the office desk, or walking on the street, and in countless other ways they are snatched from the busy circle where they were playing their part in the absorbing drama of money getting. There is no encouragement whatever for a man to gain riches under an evil shadow, when he knows that at his end he shall be a fool, according to the estimate of the Divine wisdom. Such persons are not always considered to be fools by those who survive them, but eternal justice holds the record of their folly, and places upon their wasted lives the stamp of failure.

In all ages the passion of money getting has ruled in countless breasts, and has driven many a poor soul to a fearful wreck on the shoals of greed. When Christ delivered his holy doctrines to men, he took no uncertain stand on the question of riches. To the rich young ruler who came to Him, Christ's final test of his sincerity was the request that the young man part with his worldly possessions, and the young man of fine moral character and good intentions, allowed himself to think more of his riches than he did of Christ; so he went away sorrowful, clinging to his chaff and refusing the wheat. After the decision of this rich young ruler, Christ delivered this immortal sentence, "How hard it is for them that *trust* in riches to enter into the Kingdom of God; it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." Mark 10:24-25. They that heard these words fall from the lips of Christ understood them as little as the great rushing throngs of the present generation understand them. The study of the lives of the apostles and the early teachers of Christianity shows that these saints assumed the same attitude toward the accumulation of wealth.

Long ago Livy said, "Avarice and luxury have been the ruin of every great state."

Babylon showed the picture of wealth, luxury, licentiousness and debauchery on one hand, and poverty, wretchedness and slavery on the other. The controlling power became so degraded under these ruling evils that the whole kingdom became an easy prey to the power that crushed her. Let it be suggested that if the native strength of Babylon had been marshaled under a guiding statesman and a living hero of unselfish and patriotic motive, it is a question whether any power could have overthrown her. Babylon is only an ancient prototype of many that have followed. Spain was weakened more by internal corruptions than external foes. Rome went down in the same manner. We are startled when we see that Rome's economic condition was on a parallel with ours, before her downfall. She held her head high above contemporary public states and was proud, supposing herself to be without a peer. Theodore Mommsen, that far-sighted German, who, according to several critics, wrote the best history since Gibbon laid down the pen, said in volume 4, page 607, in his history of Rome:

"In consequence of this economic system, based both on its agrarian and mercantile aspects, on masses of capital and speculation, there arose a most fearful disproportion in the distribution of wealth." How about our own country, with its ever-increasing wealth, far beyond the power of accurate estimation? Over one-half of all this great wealth is owned by less than one per cent. of our population, and at the same time, one-half of our population is not receiving enough for its labor to live respectably according to the American standard.

There never was a stronger example of wealth disproportion than is furnished by our own country. When we talk about the wealthy men of Rome, we talk about children at play, compared to the wealthy men of our country. According to Thos. E. Watson, the richest man in Rome was Croesus. His wealth was less than ten millions. His would have been a small shaft beside the towering millions of a Morgan, a Carnegie, or Rockefeller. Pompey the Great was worth three and a half millions. He would hardly have made an impression, if he were to live in America to-day with his wealth. Other men of Rome, who were worth a million or less, stood as great magnates, and a man who would spend $200,000 for a country residence, or $1,000 for a horse, or $50,000 for fine imported furniture, would create a sensation that would not die out in a day. We wonder what the Roman populist would have thought of some of our modern financiers who spend a million or more for a summer home, or hundreds of thousands of dollars for a yacht, or the same amount for a stable, or house furniture, or $20,000 for a supper, $17,000 for a sable coat and $12,000 for a hat, etc. Mommsen also relates, "to be poor, was not merely the sorest disgrace and the worst crime, but the only disgrace and the only crime; for many of the statesmen sold the state; the citizen sold his freedom and his vote. For money, the lady of quality surrendered herself a common courtesan. * * * Men had forgotten what honesty was. The man who refused a bribe was regarded not as an upright man, but as a personal foe." We shall also add that with all these conditions, public morals became so low that adultery was more popular than disgraceful, and the home life rapidly became a farce. It was no wonder that Rome went down; the hand of justice and the hand of God was against her, because of her own sins brought on by the unequal conditions of society and the unequal distribution of wealth.

Take a glimpse of that marvelous country of modern times, England. She has had her national strength taxed more by internal corruption than by any external foe. The growth of riches on one side and pauperism on the other, under the competitive system, rushed England into one of the most terrible crises that she has ever experienced. In the early part of the Nineteenth Century, for a certain period, pauperism increased six times as fast as the population. Prof. Ely says in "Outlines of Economics," "One of the best modern writers says, in speaking of Adam Smith and the impending revolution: 'there were dark patches even in his age, but we now approach a darker period, a period as disastrous and terrible, because, side by side with a great increase of wealth, was seen an enormous increase of pauperism, and production on a vast scale led to a rapid alienation of classes and degradation of a large body of producers.' "

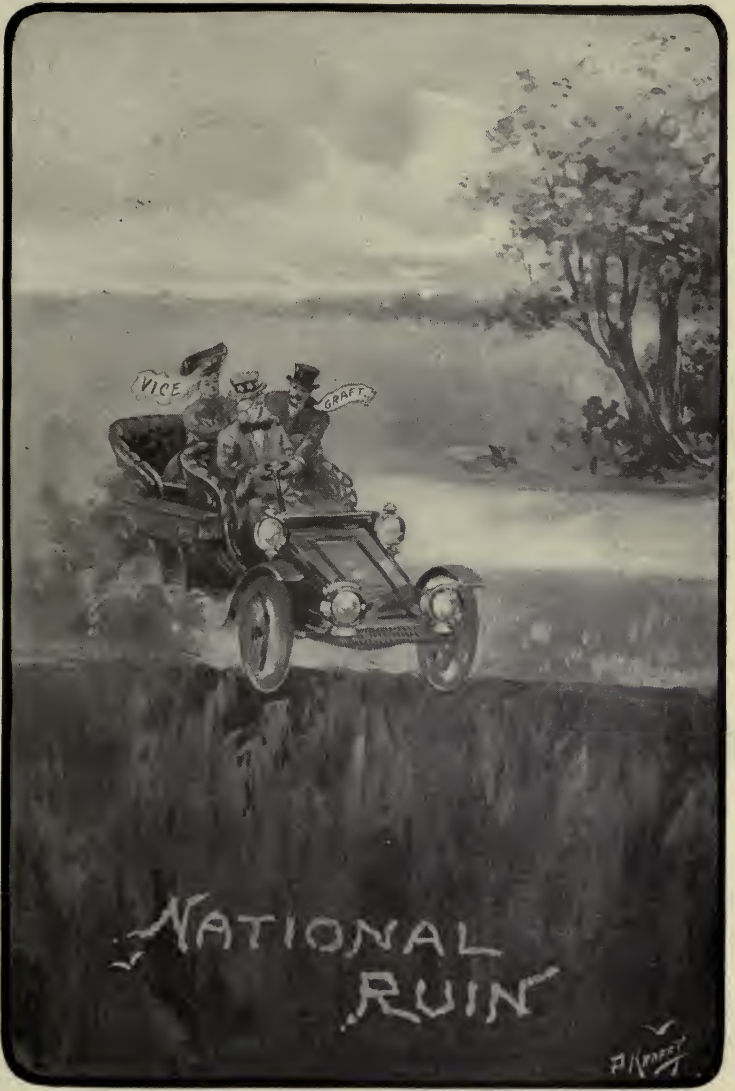
We have always believed we were optimistic rather than otherwise, and we hope that the reader will not charge us too suddenly with being pessimistic, as we proceed to give some general statements concerning our own country. Our nation has left the stage of being an imitator and a copyist. We no longer look to the other parts of the world for examples of speculation. We are setting the pace and are furnishing some original examples of graft and monopolistic enterprise. The most stupendous trust combinations on the earth have been formed in our own country, and it is doubtful whether we have not, until recently, gone to the lowest level in our winking at public crime.

We are a country of millionaires and beggars, and between these two extremes of society, there is a chasm so wide that no power under our present system of selfishness and private greed can bridge it. Along with this abundant wealth, there has come a luxury that is not only terrible but ridiculous. The extravagances of our wealthy people, as they roll in luxury, has created a sensation in all parts of the world. Thus we are following in the footsteps of Rome, and our orators are comforting the people with the thought that there can be no danger as long as we are a Christian nation. We answer by saying that when once the principles of Christianity are ignored by the legislatures and the Congress of our country, we are no longer the Christian nation that we ought to be. The only bright lights of this country are the many churches that are clinging to the plain and simple teachings of Jesus Christ; they are the salt of the nation, and to the last hour of our national existence, they will raise their protest against the political chicanery and the general dishonesty so prevalent amongst us.

Political corruption is on the increase, and if you trace the whole situation back to its origin, you will find that the possession of great wealth by a limited number of people, and the wild efforts of others to gain wealth, is the beginning of all the trouble.

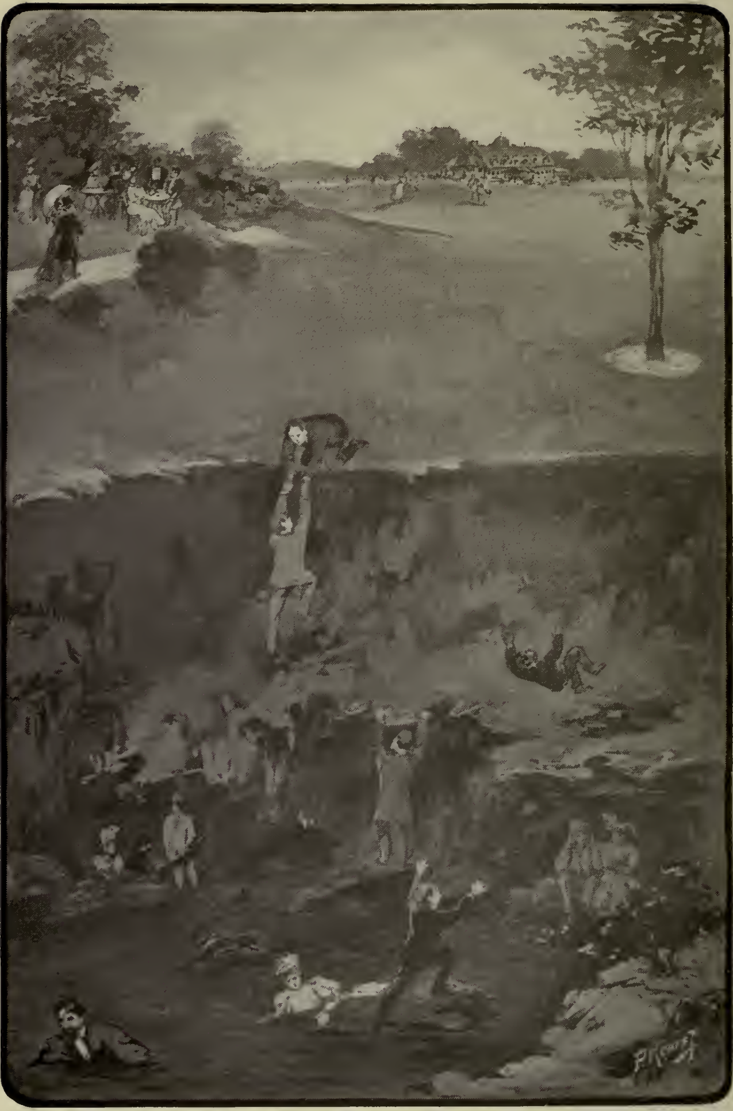
How long will we suffer under these threatening conditions? Shall we go to the last analysis and reap the last bitter fruit, or shall we welcome the light of a new order of things that would establish a safer equality between man and man, giving to all a share of the natural blessings of the earth and the product of their toil? If such a system is not established, and our people blindly go on in their present course, we will open our eyes when it is too late, and the reaping time will be the sorrowful time.

The illustration on the opposite page forcibly portrays two of the great evils that are helping to steer Uncle Sam into the awful pit of National Ruin. Perhaps Intemperance is the most blighting of all curses, but aside from this, vice is closing the moral eyes of our country and graft is falsely steering the automobile of state into a destruction more fearful than we imagine. If Uncle Sam will throw aside the power of graft and throw back the evil hands of vice he will be well able to go on at his rapid pace unharmed and unconquered; if not, he will come to the sad end which is shown so forcibly in the picture.



VICE
GRAFT
NATIONAL RUIN
A. Krafft

THE COMING DISASTER—NATIONAL RUIN.—If Vice and Graft continue their interference with our national life, disaster will surely follow.



Levels of Society.—Of a million who make the mad effort to climb from the lower to the higher level, only a comparatively few ever reach the top.

CHAPTER XIII.

WHY ARE THE WRONGS NOT RIGHTED?

If we ask the laboring man, "Why are the wrongs you suffer not righted?" he quickly answers that the whole fault rests with the employer and the Monopolists. Some would place the responsibility elsewhere. If we ask the wealthy who is to blame for the human suffering along the lines heretofore indicated, they are liable to place much of the blame on the sufferers themselves; they will tell us that the workingman is far in advance of what he had been in any former period of the world's history, and that no matter how much is done for him, he will still suffer by reason of his own carelessness, neglect and indifference.

Let us take a sober view of the whole situation, and call in the large middle class as witnesses. First of all, let us persuade you to lay aside prejudice; no mind can form a fair decision under the influence of either selfishness or prejudice. If you can forget for a moment your antipathy toward the Monopolist, I shall then declare that the Monopolist alone is not to blame for the present condition of affairs. Rightly considered, he is merely a result of the present social system. The Monopolist has taken advantage of conditions; sad to say, he has done it unfairly at times, but, nevertheless, he has only improved the opportunities at hand; and by luck or pluck, he has come into possession of large holdings, by the manipulation of which, he has opened the way for still larger possessions. Is it not true that what he is doing on a large scale, the great majority of little fish are doing on a small scale? Are there not a few men and women who want just a little more than the regular measure or the regular weight when they are buying? Do they not make the best possible use of $100 or $1,000, providing they wish to save; and, in their investing, if they know of one safe way to make $10 more than another way, will they not adopt the way that brings the largest return?

Take the large army of small dealers who have been pitied so much by reason of the handicap under which they are compelled to do business; are they not, as a class, made of the same kind of "stuff" as the Monopolists? Do they not make on their merchandise large profits where they can, and small profits only when they must? Does not the competitive system urge them on in a wild frenzy at times to grasp the almighty dollar with the same intensity that the great magnate grabs a million? In what respect does the spirit of these two men differ? If both were photographed before the omniscient camera of divine Justice, would not the pictures appear nearly alike? How many men are there within the range of your acquaintance, who would refuse to make $25,000 or $100,000 in a business deal, if an opportunity came their way, even if they were obliged to wink a little at their consciences?

Now as we have asked these questions, we will call upon you for an answer; what will it be? At first thought you may still see a big difference, but the more you analyze the situation the more you will find that the main difference is because the one deals in big money and the other in little money. The one has advanced a number of degrees farther than the other in the same frenzied path, and you pity the poorer fellow, because he runs up against a rock over which he thinks he cannot climb, and you cry out "poor wretch"; or, perchance, you see another who utterly fails to make any progress, owing to the heavy weights with which he is burdened, and he sinks down exhausted, and you also cry out "it is a pity;" and on the other fellow who has gone to the farther end of the same path, you pour out your righteous indignation or vials of wrath. Where can a man be on this mad road of competition and have your approval?

I hear another one answering, "Well, if the Monopolist is not to blame, on whom can the blame be placed? Shall we place it on the poor laborer?" Let us try to answer that question. The so-called poor laborer is poor, because he has not been able to survive in the great struggle; or, perchance, he has never entered the field of competition, except for a job. He may be unlettered and unlearned, and has been forced by circumstances to accept the mere level of manual labor. Either from lack of opportunity or desire, he has never taught his mind to soar into the lofty and inspiring region of the philosophies or to bask in the sunlight and warmth of the fine arts. What has he done to make his condition worse, except to raise no protest to the arm that crushed him? Surely the blame of social wretchedness cannot alone be placed on him. He is partly responsible for some of his own suffering, but he is not playing the principal part in perpetuating the grinding system under which he lives. If the blame cannot be placed on either the Monopolist or the Laborer, where then shall it be placed?

The fault lies mainly in the present Social System. Private ownership and free competition have wrought a fearful havoc in human society, and have made possible the sad conditions under which men and women are living to-day. Private ownership of public utilities has fostered the spirit of selfishness, so that in the mad rush of life, the policy of each one is to grab all he can for his own use. Selfishness is on the throne, crowned and adorned until it is made to look beautiful. Before this vile and debasing queen, the great and small pay their respects. The self-centering of thought is the black curse of the age, and the barren life it creates and fosters can be likened unto a great desert. The exceptions to the rule are the few philanthropists and other people likewise minded who form the welcome oases over this wild desert waste of human life.

There are many who think that our government is about as perfect as can be expected. We ask such to give reasonable consideration for a moment to the following. Why should it be necessary for each one to push somebody else down in order to lift himself up in the commercial world? Would it not be much better if the spirit of co-operation would prevail and so fulfill the law of the world's greatest teacher, "Bear ye one another's burdens?" The man who is doing business under our present system, and who literally tries to obey this law, will soon reach insurmountable difficulties; he will find that by trying to bear the burdens of his competitor, he will place upon himself a burden too heavy to bear. One of the saddest comments we heard of late came from the lips of a man whom we believed to be an honest Christian. He was in business and was successful. One day he said to us: "One of the saddest things in my business life is that when I am succeeding well as the result of my own push, some other dealer is suffering."

If humanity is to step out of bondage into reasonable liberty, it must not depend upon the natural evolution of society, for if the workers themselves do not make a positive advance, it is doubtful if our Heaven on Earth will ever prevail in the industrial world. Thus it can be clearly and logically seen that the only way of escape is by the establishment of a new system of economics, by which all the people will receive the full product of their labor, and each person be compelled to do a portion of the work and mutually share all the burdens of human society. The outlines of this new order will be given later in the book.

Just how long we must suffer under the present conditions until there can be sufficient sentiment created to bring about this wonderful change, no one can exactly predict.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Rise and Reign of Labor Unions

I.—THE RISE OF LABOR UNIONS.

In the earlier chapters of this book we considered the worker as he passed from one condition to another in the line of human advancement. We first studied him as a slave, enjoying no privileges except those of an ordinary animal. After this period of slavery, we noted that the worker was a serf,—a creature held to the soil, half bound and half free. Later he became a wage-earner, which was another step higher in the scale of progress. On this higher plane he began to suffer unexpectedly, for his burdens grew more and more intolerable under the pressure of competition and as a result of the use of machinery.

The great majority of writers on political economy admit that the laborer of the present age is suffering an oppression peculiar to our times, and that the general influence of modern life and conditions only tend to increase the oppression. It is certain that if the laborer had remained indifferent to his welfare, the day of his deliverance would yet be far off; but fortunately, the oppressed legions nursed the aggrieved feelings of their common humanity and began to mass together for mutual rights.

At first this combining of workingmen caused unusual alarm in the ranks of capitalism, and consequently, England passed in 1800 severe laws forbidding workingmen to organize. It took twenty-four years of suffering and martyrdom on the part of laborers, before these laws of 1800 were repealed; but the prejudice against labor unions was so strong that Prof. Ely tells us in his book on "The Labor Movement in America," that in 1831, Stephen Simpson, of Philadelphia, had occasion to say, "If mechanics combine to raise their wages, the laws punish them as conspirators against the good of society, and the dungeon awaits them as it does the robber. But the laws have made it a just and meritorious act that capitalists shall combine to strip the laboring man of his earnings, and reduce him to a dry crust and a gourd of water."

As the years passed, the worker and his rights became more and more recognized, and it remained for the glorious Nineteenth Century to witness the worker entering the ranks of organized labor. This is a modern phase of the worker's advancement, and no doubt it is one of the last movements before the final victory of Labor over Capital is achieved. With the advent of organized labor, the army of employers became more and more suspicious, and they feared a sudden precipitation of an industrial revolution, and naturally, their antagonism became more and more intense. At the same time the workers also became more and more determined that the advance ground purchased by so many costly sacrifices should never be taken from them. This was the beginning of a great movement that will not have its end until some thoroughly satisfactory settlement is made between the two contending parties. The dawning of the new era has thrown its light upon the two great forces, each one being determined to win the day.

II.—THE REIGN OF LABOR UNIONS.

The first world-wide movement among workers was organized at London in 1864, and was called, "The International Workingmen's Association." Its object was to **advance Labor** and to elevate the worker to a higher plane of living. The first congress was held at Geneva in 1866, and from that year on, conventions have been held in different countries. The history of this organization is replete with radical measures and bold efforts, and even anarchistic elements were associated directly and indirectly with the organization.

Considering the United States alone, the first great labor movement was born shortly after the Emancipation Proclamation. It seems as if the liberty that was given to 4,000,000 slaves, started the fires of industrial liberty among all classes, and accordingly, in 1869, the "Knights of Labor" was organized in Philadelphia. After nine years of victories and defeats, this organization held its first general assembly in 1878 at Reading, Pa., where seven states were represented. This union took into its grasp the skilled and unskilled workers, regardless of trade, and aimed to bring all Labor units together, and secure for everybody some kind of a Cooperative Commonwealth, as indicated by their declaration of principles which were adopted at the Reading Convention as follows:

1. "The organizing, educating and directing of the power of the industrial masses."

2. "The true standard of national and individual greatness is the industrial and moral worth, and not wealth."

3. "The workers should have the full enjoyment of the wealth they create."

To secure these aims, this young and thrifty body demanded the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics, and the prohibition of the employment of children under the age of fifteen years, and the abolition of the convict labor system; and, on the other hand, it urged the establishment of co-operative institutions as a substitute for the present wage-system. It also started the movement toward the eight hour day.

The Knights of Labor profited somewhat by the National Labor Union, which started with great promise and ran its career from 1866 to 1872, when it was wrecked by running on the reef of politics. Still onward moved the Knights of Labor, fighting the trades unions because they differed in the plan and scope of their work. When the Knights held their general assembly in 1886, the delegates reported a total membership of 300,000, but owing to certain differences that arose, there was a split at that time, and the greatest labor organization of the world had its origin in the formation of "The American Federation of Labor," organized December 8th, 1886. From this time onward, the mother gradually died a natural death, and the child waxed strong. This great organization according to Encyclopedia Americana has for its objects:

1. "The encouragement and formation of local trade and labor unions, and the closer federation and combination of such bodies; to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses."

2. "The establishment of national and international trade-unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade," etc.

3. "An American Federation of all national and international trade-unions, to aid and assist each other" and "the sale of union-label goods, and to secure national legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion by peaceful and legal methods in favor of organized labor."

4. "To aid and encourage the labor press of America."

This powerful organization held under its grasp in 1905, 114 national unions, representing a membership of over 2,000,000.

Certain labor unions have gone beyond the mere effort to secure their rights, and have proved their humane spirit by efforts to help the weak and unfortunate of their ranks. Rev. G. Hodges, D. C. L., cites an incident in Great Britain: "During the ten years which began with 1890, one hundred English unions distributed among the disabled, the superannuated and the needy, $45,000,000. * * * There is, however, an element of uncertainty in these beneficent arrangements. The funds which are in the treasury of the union are all liable to be taken for the maintenance of strikes. * * * They are contributed with that intent."

Aside from the trades unions and confederations of workers, the Patrons of Husbandry and the National Farmer's Alliance and Industrial Union were early in the field. The latter became aggressive in politics and hoped to sweep the country and carry it with the "Populist" party.

There have also been and are still in existence, many independent Labor Unions, each one striving to defend its members from injustice and win for them better conditions. It is impossible to describe the many branches of the Labor forces; they are marching toward victory by the legions.

This widespread awakening is by far the most formidable uprising since the creation of man, and just what the outcome will be, no one can predict. It is to be hoped that such an army will be guided by love, patience and justice, in their onward marches to secure what they consider to be their rights.

Whether or not labor unions are helpful, will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

LABOR UNIONS CONSIDERED

The Labor Union is only a call to arms in self-defense. Its main objects have been mentioned in the last chapter, and if these could be realized satisfactorily, it might happen that trade unionisms would disappear. We have radicals on each side of the question. Some men believe that trade unionism will eventually provoke a suffering public more than Monopolies have done, and that therefore, they will receive their hardest blow from the common people. Others believe that this policy is the most effectual to secure for the worker his rights.

In 1903, Clarence S. Darrow, attorney for the miners before the Anthracite Coal Commission, after he had taken a careful view of organized labor, wrote an article on the subject from which we quote as follows:

"So, above all things else, trade unionism should turn its attention to political action, not necessarily this party or that, but toward the solution by law and industrial changes of the problems of the day. For in the end natural laws must prevail."

"The energy now directed toward simply organizing men and seeking to better their condition by raising wages, must be more largely turned towards the political and economic questions of the day upon which labor, capital and wages depend."

There are some people who are narrow enough to advise that all Labor organizations should be stamped out of eixstence, just because a few rash things have been done by some of their members. We must look at this matter fairly. The surprise is that there has been so much deliberation and coolness on the part of the uprising millions, who have had their eyes opened to see that they are being robbed and cruelly crushed. That the spirit of mob violence has been largely absent, and the fires of insurrection have been held under control, is one of the miracles of the age.

I.—OBJECTIONS TO LABOR UNIONS.

There are many objections filed to the methods of Labor Unions, and some of these objections have a good foundation. It would hardly be possible that the practical workings of all the laws and regulations of such large bodies would be blameless. It is a common saying that you must fight fire with fire, or in our own words, you must fight destruction with destruction. This is not a thing to recommend; we are simply explaining conditions as we find them in the attitude of certain labor organizations. Let us consider for example the manner in which the unions have treated employers in some instances. They have forced them by strikes or boycotts into a most humiliating condition, and then dictated terms, telling the employer how he must run his business and what wages he must pay, if he wishes to use union men. The reason for this action is well understood, and the spirit of the action often works contrary to the Golden Rule. If any union man owned a business of his own, and hired a dozen men, he would not think it right if he were compelled to consult his men regarding the time and manner of their work. He would naturally think that he ought to know better than his hired men when he wanted a piece of work done, and who should do it. It is well known that union men sometimes make themselves offensive by becoming dictators to their employers. Even workingmen can see that many of these things are wrong, but they explain by saying that extreme measures must follow extreme conditions, and that the unions in trying to get their rights, have done, and are doing extreme things.

Trade Unions have also been criticised for destroying the liberties of their men, compelling them to go against their own private wishes, in order to comply with a hard law of the union. It has frequently happened that union men have been compelled to go against their natural instincts, and quit working for an employer whom they loved, and at a shop where they had been working for many years, just because rumors or facts gave evidence that the employer violated the rules of the union in some trivial or more important matter. These are some of the painful results that have followed in the enforcement of Labor Union regulations, and have done more to antagonize the large army of ordinary business men against the unions, than anything else.

Another requirement of certain trades unions, to which objection is made, is the limiting of apprenticeship. The following letter from Ohio to one of the large papers of New York City, illustrates the evil working of the law.

"To my mind, the action of Labor Unions in preventing boys from learning any trade they choose, is hurtful and hateful to an extreme degree. Any boy can learn to be a farmer, or a clerk, or a reporter, or a doctor, lawyer, or priest, without leave or license from any one, but he cannot learn certain trades without the permission of a Labor Union. A union of doctors or school teachers or lawyers who undertook to prevent any boy from learning to earn his livelihood in these professions, would be denounced.

"Can you give good reasons why the actions of Labor Unions, in preventing any boy from learning any trade is not hideously hateful and un-American, and ought not to be detested and despised by every free citizen of this country.

"I would like to read one of your editorials on this aspect of labor unionism, which seems to me to be nothing less than infernal in its malice and meanness." "MARTIN CROSS."

Looking at the surface of things, the above limitation looks like an unfair and unreasonable practice or demand on the part of any Labor Union. The only way to pass an opinion upon anything of this kind, is to get the reason that the union had for making such provisions or passing such laws. The union claims that if too many boys learn a certain kind of trade, there will not be employment enough for them after their trade is learned, and therefore, they will not be alone in their suffering, but also the men who have already learned this trade and are depending upon it for a livelihood will suffer as well. It is therefore considered better to limit the number of persons who shall enter apprenticeship, than to allow an unlimited number to enter and share the disadvantages that must inevitably follow. This is the position of the union, and there is a great amount of truth and justice in its position, even though it looks like an un-American spirit. With the advance in education, there are now hundreds of boys, where formerly there were ten, who are capable of going into the better trades, and therefore, the apparently hard measure of limiting apprenticeship had its origin in trying to check the flood of applicants.

To all questions of this kind there are clearly two sides. Consider for a moment the question of doctors, physicians and lawyers. Is it not true that under our present system of unlimited apprenticeship there are thousands upon thousands of professional men who fail just because of their great struggle against unlimited competition? It might be sensible after all, if the state would place some kind of limitation at the door of entrance to the professional life, because the more we have in the field, the more each one must struggle to make a fortune; and, therefore, there is a strong feeling that the general public will be imposed upon in more ways than one.

Labor organizations are also looked upon with fear and trembling by many great thinkers, who declare that in the end they will do more harm than good. It is argued that when they will be needed most, they will be in their weakest form. Statistics show us that according to the reports of the census of 1890 and 1900, and the eighteenth annual report of the Department of Labor, the army of the unemployed is steadily growing larger. In 1890 when a large percentage of the working population was steadily employed throughout the year, there was a great boom in trades' organizations. In 1900, when the army of the unemployed was almost 20 per cent. larger, the unions experienced greater difficulty in holding their men together.

We have given a few chilling facts so as to enable one to look more thoroughly at the two sides of the question. Briefly stated, it can be said that the mission of Labor Unions is to open the way for the last movement against Monopoly. In itself it will not strike the final blow, but will give way in due time to the irresistible march of coming events that will accomplish the victory.

II.—BENEFITS OF LABOR UNIONS.

After an unprejudiced person has presented all possible objections to Labor Unions, he is still convinced that their benefits far outweigh the valid objections offered to them, and that the entire movement of trades unions has been one of the most powerful agencies of modern times to advance the cause of the workingmen. Organization has been the order of the day for some time past. All classes of professional men meet in Congresses. Concerted action has brought scientific investigators together, and great things are being done by these combinations. It was in such an atmosphere as this, that organized Labor had its birth, and its marvelous growth. With all its evils and weaknesses, it will be looked upon in after ages as one of the most potent factors in checking the greedy advances of Monopoly. It will also be looked upon as the most sensible method of getting the hearts of millions of common workers to beat in sympathy with one another, and in all this, the future historians will see more blessings than curses, more good than evil, more of the uplifting than the degrading.

Think carefully for a moment, and ask yourself the question, "What equal or better means could have been adopted to bring together the widely separated units of Labor?" When you commence to answer this question, your thoughts are drawn toward the uniting of labor just as the needle of the compass is drawn toward the North Pole. Therefore, we feel free in making the declaration, that the general movement of labor organizations is the most logical result of the discontent among workers, and the most natural and effective method of reaching the desired end.

Take a bird's-eye view of what has been accomplished by the marvelous movement of organized Labor:—

1. It has brought about the system of payment of wages weekly in lawful money instead of the old time method of "company script and company stores."

2. It has been instrumental in having laws passed prohibiting foreign contract labor.

Can you remember the state of affairs before these laws were enacted? It was an easy thing for contractors to employ agents to bring foreigners to America in hosts, so that many an honest American workingman was compelled to be idle for a season and suffer from threatening starvation. Modern restrictions have somewhat remedied this evil.

3. It has compelled the passage of sanitary laws, requiring employers to keep their workshops and factories in a healthy condition.

4. It has been largely instrumental in abolishing child labor, white slavery and the sweating system. These subjects are considered elsewhere in the book.

5. It has accomplished a reduction in the hours that constitute a day's work.

This has not been as generally adopted as some of the other provisions, but warm agitations are prevailing everywhere to gain this end. More will be said on this point in the next chapter under the section: "Benefits of strikes."

6. Wages have increased materially.

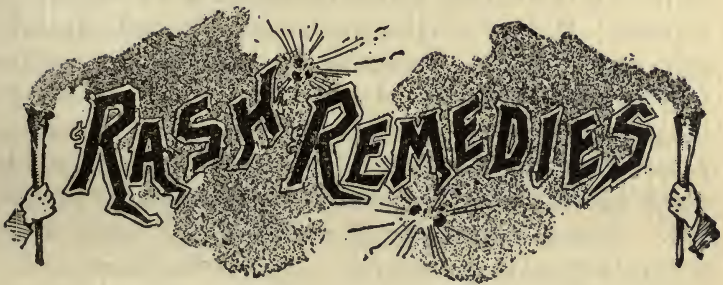
There is no question on this point; but of what benefit are large wages if the cost of living is more than relatively increased? Here is the hardest rub of the whole question. The Labor Unions have no way under our present system of controlling the cost of living. If it could double the price of present wages, no one knows but that the cost of living would be tripled. The laboring masses cannot get ahead of Monopoly under free and unlimited competition. The latter part of this book will discuss this phase of the question more thoroughly.

7. It has shown the public more clearly than any other agency the evils and dangers of Trusts.

The above are only a few of the many achievements of organized Labor. Let no one be inconsiderate enough to pass a wholesale condemnation on the general work and methods of this large industrial army, without taking some time to study the bright side of the question. Humanity has been saved from what would have been its worst form of slavery by the energetic efforts of trades unions. If we look at the unfair and wretched forms of slavery at the present time when the hand of greed is partly checked, we get a faint glimpse of what would have existed under the full sweep of tyranny and merciless oppression.

So we must ever appreciate the good that has been and is still being accomplished by organized Labor, which in itself will not strike the final blow against Monopoly. It will no doubt finally give way to the irresistible force of political power manipulated by the hosts of Labor, and thus the great victory will be won.

CHAPTER XVI.



We have in the previous chapter described the general conditions of the Capital and Labor warfare. The discontent among workingmen and the greedy advances of Monopoly demand an adequate remedy, and many have been proposed. In this chapter we will consider the remedies that we believe to be rash in their nature. There has been much ignorant striking in the dark by would-be reformers, and some of these leaders of rash movements have surely done some good, even though their pet schemes failed.

There are some remedies given in this chapter that have been powerful factors in awakening public thought, and calling its attention to the wrongs that are being perpetrated against the proletariat.

I.—ANARCHY.

Anarchy has come to be a synonym for terror, recklessness and Godlessness, with fanaticism for its guide and dynamite for its weapon. A disease is judged by its worst symptoms, and so indeed anarchy is judged more by its evil fruits than by the teachings of its literary advocates. Germs of the movement started centuries ago, and later developments brought to light at least five schools of anarchists,—the evolutionary, revolutionary, communistic, individualistic and reformed. These different branches all agree in their attitude toward government. "Down with the state," is their cry. A few definitions of anarchy will serve to set forth its aims more clearly. The leading anarchist of France, Elisee Recluse, says, "Our object is to live without government and without law." Benjamin R. Tucker, one of the foremost American exponents of anarchy, gave the following definition in a letter written to that noted reformer, Wilbur F. Crafts: "Anarchy is a state of society where there is no government. Anarchists deny government, 'coercion of the non-evasive individual.' Anarchists oppose any form of industrial administration evolving such coercion. Anarchists as anarchists neither oppose or favor any other forms of administration."

According to the Encyclopedia Americana, Prince Kropotkin, the famous Russian anarchist, declares that "no cause for litigation would arise after we had abolished the present system of class privilege and unjust distribution of the wealth produced by labor; that creation fosters crime." He also explains, "We are nurtured from our birth to believe that we *must* have government. Yet the history of man proves the contrary. When small bodies or parts of humanity broke down the powers of their rulers and resumed some parts of their ordained freedom, these were always epochs of the greatest progress, economically and intellectually, in the direct ratio to the freedom of the individual who advances."

The evolutionary anarchists believe that no force should be used, indeed they are radically opposed to violent measures. They argue that society will finally, by its own corruption, go to pieces, and by this natural evolution, the theory of anarchism will be vindicated. Such men as Tucker, Yarrow and others have fathered this belief. No doubt this school is sincere in its teachings, but we fear it will wait a long while before all law will be abolished.

The revolutionary anarchists are those who became impatient at the slow march of evolution, and, wishing to help their cause along, adopted more violent measures. The main leader of this school was Bakunin. He was nursed on the milk of infidelity, and being fired with impatient zeal, he advocated the taking of the fort by storm, and hoped to arouse the common populace to such an extent that they would tear down all the existing forms of human government. He kindled the fires of obnoxious anachy, and from his pen flew fire brands of revolution. This was the beginning of the most terrible epoch of anarchy that the world has ever seen, and it has not yet seen its end, although the weakness and futility of its course has been fully demonstrated.

As the outgrowth of these revolutionary measures, all the kings and queens of Europe were trembling on their thrones in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century. As the outcome of the widespread plots, President Carnot of France was assassinated in 1894; the Empress Elizabeth of Austria in 1898; King Humbert of Italy, in 1900; and President McKinley of the United States in 1901. Other attempts were made on the lives of kings and queens during the same period, as the outgrowth of the same movement. The French Chamber of Deputies was horrified in 1893 by the sudden bursting of a bomb in their midst. We have not forgotten the Haymarket tragedy of 1886 in Chicago. These violent measures have done more to kill the cause of anarchy than all other things combined.

The most oppressed workers who enjoy any kind of liberties, resent the bomb method of expressing their protest against the government. Who would want to live under a government, or in any society, that has been forced upon us by the spirit of the bomb thrower? Such men usually want full license, and some have been bold enough to declare that they believe in free lust and free love. This barnyard policy would exactly agree with some of the lowest scum of society, but the most untutored who glory in their decency, can easily see that unbounded liberty to everybody would bring us into a chaos out of which we could only come again by the resort to rigid law and custom. One of the most hopeful signs of the times is, that the revolutionary anarchists have good sense enough to see that violent measures are a failure, and many of them are falling into the schools of communionism and individualism. Johann Most of the United States, and Charles Malatœ of France, and Enrico Malatesta of Italy are leading revolutionists in their own countries.

According to Joseph Dana Millier, we learn that P. J. Proudhon was the father of individualistic anarchism. His writings have had a magical effect, and have been foundation stones on which others have built. He spent a great part of his life trying to prove that "property is robbery."

After taking a sober glance at the principal part of the field of anarchy, studying its origin and its promulgation, we will now summarize its teachings.

1.—Law and Government are Invasive.

This means that they are purely unnecessary, and have been pushed upon society through injurious methods, and serve only to destroy the welfare of individuals.

2.—It Hopes to Give the Individual Free and Natural Liberty.

Rev. E. H. Kistler, A. M., in "The Evangelical" of August 11, 1897, puts these words in the mouth of the anarchist: "Let US give wild rein to OUR passions and lusts; that is better than letting the others do it." In another brief word picture he says concerning Anarchy: "It is a plea for the under-dog to be lifted on top, and to be even more bloodthirsty than the present top-dog.'' This cry of personal liberty, according to Crafts, is the outgrowth of covetousness, lust and appetite, and such liberty can only be found in the solitude of the wilderness. The same author endeavors to show that even in isolated communities absolute liberty is not possible, and that each one owes to his fellows a certain regard and respect which means that he must at times make sacrifices for the sake of others. It is hardly thinkable that men of knowledge would advocate such measures. Law and custom grow out of necessity, and if we could start the human race over again, the same evolution would come about. We also learn from Divine authority that man needs to be under law as well as under grace; and indeed when he is under grace he is most thoroughly under law, which reigns from beginning to end. As to the purity and justice of human enactments, we have nothing to say at this time.

3.—Anarchy Aims to Overthrow All Existing Government.

This third condition is the natural result of the other two, and is a means whereby the first two named purposes may be accomplished. The tearing down of government, without offering anything to take its place, is a most revolting suggestion. The resort to such anarchy is always a backward step, putting off the day of deliverance. All reformers must learn beyond the shadow of a doubt, that anarchy is a death blow to liberty, and is as poisonous to society as arsenic is to the stomach.

In the coming ages when Labor shall have won its conflict over Capital, and when the fruits of human toil will be equitably distributed, no doubt the work of the more temperate anarchists will be praised because of what they accomplished in awakening society and arousing the masses against the oppressions under which they suffered.

Finally, we will say with the great mass of workingmen, that anarchy is a rash remedy and is one from which we must turn in order to find the best solution of labor troubles.

II.—NIHILISM.

What anarchy is to the other nations, nihilism is to Russia. It is the name given to a class of people who were organized in the early part of the Nineteenth Century in Russia for the purpose of lifting the slaves from their miserable condition and introducing a constitutional form of government. This early revolt was quelled and its leaders executed. Several times during the Nineteenth Century, similar organizations were effected, mostly in secret, and frequently their plots were exposed and their leaders either killed, executed or banished. But liberty like "truth, crushed to earth, will rise again," and so the advocates of reform could not be crushed out. Although they were executed and punished, yet new followers ever sprang up to push on the cause of human liberty.

There were through the years, certain radicals who used violent measures, such as were adopted by the revolutionary anarchists. These have sent terror to the rulers of Russia from time to time.

No doubt, out of this warring movement, the great leaders of reform will finally gain the purpose for which they are struggling. Although nihilism is to be condemned for its severe measures, yet it is one of the brutal agencies that has caused a great awakening in that country, and is itself the effect of the grinding conditions of Church and State in Russia. We turn from nihilism, because we do not find in it any better solution of the social question than we find in anarchy. The great difficulty with anarchy and nihilism is that God is left out of the plan. They are atheistic in their movements, and woe betide any community or country that comes under the reign of lawlessness and Godlessness.

III.—INSURRECTION AND REVOLUTION.

In some respects the revolutionists and insurrectionists partake of the spirit of anarchy. The history of the world gives us many examples of these two firebrand methods of reform. Popular discontent and dissatisfaction with government have often expressed themselves by an organized mob rushing upon the central government, and attempting to overthrow the old to establish some new and perhaps more dangerous reign. It has only been a generation ago since the revolutionary spirit asserted itself in France in what is commonly known as, "The Rising of the Commune of Paris." This was a sudden and fanatical effort on the part of the common people who found themselves in possession of fire-arms after the siege of the Germans. The insurrection lasted ten weeks, between the forces of the Communes and a large army of the central government, during which time 50,000 of the Communists were killed and taken prisoners.

The revolutionary spirit of John Brown who, with good intentions, sought to liberate the slaves, is still remembered by those who have survived the war times.

It must be acknowledged that revolutionary measures have often proved to be a blessing. The movement under Cromwell in England, and the action of the thirteen American colonies against England, are notable examples, although these movements are not to be compared to the petty revolutions that are frequently formed by a few men, who as leaders, instead of fighting for principles, are simply endeavoring to force upon society their own narrow, selfish, and chimerical ideas. To advocate the method of insurrection or revolution in all cases, just because great successes have been obtained in some cases, is absurd. We wish to emphasize that the spirit of rioting is the same as the spirit of revolution, and the cause of labor is always injured by such methods.

IV.—BOYCOTT.

Boycott is one of the weapons by labor organizations to force an expression of sentiment and concessions in their favor. For our present consideration we will not speak of this weapon, as it is used by the capitalists also. It is our purpose to show that the method of boycott is one of the rash measures; and, although it has served a purpose in a number of instances, it must take its rightful place in the category of un-Christian and uncivil methods of social warfare. There could be many tales of horror told, if all the facts were related concerning the war between the union and the "scab." Many things are done in the heat of battle that are regretted afterward, and the time will come when the cruel processes of boycotting, intimidation and blacklisting will be regarded as belonging only to an age of frenzied endeavor on the part of the workmen to get their rights.

V.—"GRAND DIVIDE."

The original meaning of this term represented some of the modern socialistic views concerning the rights of the workingmen. Some writers and strikers have played upon this term and have given it a low-grade meaning. They have said that the purpose of those who advocate a "Grand Divide" was to take from every man that which he now has, and pour it into one large bin and then share out to every man equally. The better socialistic thought has been brought much into disrepute by such silly interpretations and by such unfounded charges made against socialism. We do not want the "grand divide" remedy as misinterpreted, neither are we prepared to say we want the "grand divide" remedy as taught by those who originated the term.

VI.—STRIKES.

1.—Definition and Nature of Strikes.

It hardly seems necessary to give a definition of a strike. It is the refusal of workmen collectively to comply with a demand of the employer, or the refusal to work when the employer does not grant a given request of the workmen. In either of the two cases, the workmen, by common agreement, walk away or stay away from the place of employment, and declare that they will not return to work unless their claims are granted. This refusal to work constitutes a strike. This has been the common weapon in the hand of the workers in their slow but sure advances. In many respects this method seems to be cruel and barbarous, and it is sadly true that many strikes have been conducted in the most unjustifiable manner.

The millionaire, Rufus W. Weeks, delivered an address at the annual dinner of the Alumni Association of the High School of Newark, N. J., in 1905. During his remarks, he uttered these words about strikes, "Now, what is the weapon with which thus far the working class has been fighting in this war? Only that poor, pathetic weapon, ceasing to work, comically called 'striking.' Their own starvation is their weapon, coupled, of course, with the clumsy efforts to enforce the dictates of class ethics upon those weak-conscienced individuals who shirk the call to starvation." It appears that the workers believe this to be the most effective means to get their rights, at least they have shown their faith by their numberless sacrifices. They have made their pathetic appeal time after time, knowing that they were handicapped from the very beginning.

2.—History of Strikes.

The workers of the country have been striking since about the middle of the Eighteenth Century, but no record has been kept of the strikes until the latter part of the Nineteenth Century. For the enlightenment of the reader, we will give some general information regarding strikes, gathered from the United States Bulletin of Labor.

For a period of twenty years, from 1881 to 1900, inclusive, there were nearly 23,000 strikes in the United States, involving over 6,000,000 employes. The average of each strike was about three and a half weeks, and the loss of wages to employes was $258,000,000. The loss to employers was $128,000,000. Of this large number of strikes about half of them were successful, one-third were total failures, and the balance were partly successful. Some of these strikes involved only a few hundred men, or less, while others involved hundreds of thousands of men at one time. Considerably over one-half of all these strikes were in nine industries:—building trades; hard and soft coal; clothing; tobacco, food stuff preparations; railroad; stone cutting, metal and metallic goods, and bricklaying.

3.—Cause of Strikes.

We will mention a few of the principal causes that have brought about strikes in different parts of our country. These facts we have gathered from many different sources.

(1) For increase of wages, 42 per cent.

(2) For reduction of hours, 20 per cent.

(3) Against reduction of wages, 3 per cent.

(4) For increase of wages and reduction of hours, 7½ per cent.

(5) For reduction of hours and against being compelled to board with employer, 3½ per cent.

(6) For change of hour beginning work, 1½ per cent.

(7) For increase of wages and against the contract system, 1 per cent.

The above mentioned are the seven principal causes of strikes. There are a little over three hundred other causes entering into all the minute details. For some of these petty causes, only 25, 50 or 100 establishments were involved during all the twenty years.

4.—The Evils of Strikes.

Aside from the great loss of time and money on the part of the employes and employers, there are other evils that must be taken into consideration by one who wishes to render an impartial opinion on the merit or demerit of strikes. We will say nothing of the starvation and suffering endured, and the many sacrifices that men, women and children make during the bitter process of a prolonged strike. It is quite apparent that one of the principal sufferers during a strike is the public, who are not always aware of the coming trouble, and who are not prepared to meet the conditions so suddenly thrust upon them. In the anthracite coal strike of 1902, the suffering was not limited to those directly concerned in the strike, but it reached to nearly all industries and classes of people and revealed an empty coal bin in numberless homes, even with the approach of wintry days. This will serve as an example of many other strikes, to show that parties not connected with the conflict are often forced to suffer, and in many instances, this is the very purpose that the strikers are trying to reach, so as to enlist the sympathy of outside parties.

Another evil of strikes is the rioting and lawlessness that is often indulged in at these times. Labor leaders with voice and pen seem to deprecate this kind of violence, claiming that the mob is generally responsible for these revolutionary acts. It has been shown, however, in a number of instances, that the strikers have also manifested their sympathy and even given their help to incite disturbance and rash demonstrations. No matter who is to blame, the fact remains that these unfortunate upheavels usually come during the process of a strike, and they are one of the evils connected with it.

Another evil of the strike is the lawless spirit that it creates and fosters in the breasts of the young and old workers. We will not dwell upon this aspect of the case, but will leave it to the moral philospher.

Looking at the one side alone, it would be natural to condemn strikes, and a number of writers have done so, —some in a very caustic manner, others with more conservatism. Before reaching a final decision, we must consider the other side of the question.

5.—The Benefits of Strikes.

(1) They have put a check on the crushing greed of employers.

(2) They have opened the eyes of workmen to see their own power by combination.

(3) Wages have been increased.

The good showing of our statistics in favor of the workingman for the past one hundred years is largely due to the strike. John Mitchell, in his book entitled, "Organized Labor," estimates that one result of the coal strike of 1902 was over $7,000,000 increase of wages to the anthracite mine workers. This is only one instance of hundreds that might be given to prove this point.

(4) Hours of labor have been lessened.

This has been a subject that has received much attention by reformers and by workers. The effort to reduce the number of working hours for a day's work has been long and severe, and from the very beginning, victories have been won. Some have not yet forgotten how the hundreds of street-car employes in Baltimore had their hours of labor reduced from seventeen to twelve hours after a determined strike of a few days. Speeches were made and sermons were preached, and yet all moral efforts seemed to fail, but when the strike came, that seemed to strike the street-car magnates hard. It has come to be common history how the bricklayers and other tradesmen have cut their day's work down to eight hours and even less, as an outcome of their persistent efforts. Recent history has been full of events indicating how all classes of workmen are struggling to make shorter the length of a day's work.

After a careful survey of the whole question, one does not feel so antagonistic to strikes as before. We feel like accepting the lesser of two evils, and saying that more good has come to workingmen through the one evil of strikes than would have come to them through the other evil of unchecked capitalistic oppression; that is putting the whole question in a nutshell. It might have been possible to adopt measures fifty or one hundred years ago that would have proved more fruitful than the results that have come to us through the long age of strikes; but such a discussion amounts to little now; the time is past, events have gone into history, and if we can build a more blessed future on the wearisome struggles of the past, we will do well. We expect to show in this book a better method for workingmen and all classes to adopt than strikes.

VII.—SYMPATHETIC STRIKES.

By the term "sympathetic strikes," we mean the striking of certain classes of workmen who go out not because of any grievance of their own against their employers, but to express their sympathy for some other class of workmen with whom they are associated. Distinctly considered this kind of strikes is unreasonable and barbarous. During such strikes, the worst form of coercion is often used, and the most un-American principles are practiced; and while the sympathetic strike has often helped the local strike, it has also done more to prejudice the public against the strikers than anything else. Several writers have referred to the Chicago Strike of 1894. It happened that the workmen in the Pullman car factories struck for higher wages. It was at a time when the fever of national labor organization was at a high heat; consequently the national strike commission gave their approval to the local strike, and as a result the officers of the American Railway Union ordered its members to strike on all railroads that refuses at once to discontinue the use of Pullman cars. These railroads were under contract to use said cars, and by laying them aside, would make themselves liable to heavy damages, as well as breach of contract. This sympathetic strike caused wide-spread trouble for a while; it tied up one railroad after another; it caused the death of men, women and children, and the holding of live stock enroute on freight cars; and, in truth, there was an insurrection that became so serious, that federal troops were called to check the disorder. Public feeling became very intense against the strikers, and many of the strikers refused to obey the order of the union; at least one of the principal leaders, Eugene V. Debs, in commenting on the strike afterward, in a great meeting at Chicago, said, "Workmen can gain nothing by strikes, but should anchor their hopes to the ballot box."

Since Debs made this remark, the sentiment has been growing very rapidly that the cause of Labor will never rightly reach its end under the present system of warfare; and yet it is argued that it would not be proper to discontinue the present system until something better takes its place; and so, for that reason we may expect to hear of strikes, sympathetic strikes and all similar types of warfare, until the day of better things is upon us. Till then let us not be too impatient or criticise too severely the painful experiences that come with all these forms of guerilla warfare.

CHAPTER XVII.

LEGISLATIVE
REMEDIES

We have shown in a previous chapter that partiality has been shown to the rich in the making and execution of laws. That is a fact commonly admitted by the general mass of people; and yet, with all of this discrimination against Labor, much has been accomplished by legal measures for the uplifting of the general class of workers.

I.—A GLIMPSE OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

The growth of sentiment in favor of Labor for the past one hundred years surpasses that of centuries previous to this time. A little over a century ago when the grasping hand of greed was seen operating against the welfare of the masses of poor laboring men, women and children, the employer cared little for the health or comfort of his employes; in fact he did nothing more than the bare law of necessity demanded. He was not aiming to be a philanthropist, but was grasping after the almighty dollar; and consequently, hundreds and thousands of lives were sacrificed under the inhuman conditions imposed upon the employes. Strong children were broken down before they reached maturity, and anxious fathers were compelled to lay health, and often life itself, upon the altar of family devotion.

One who studies the history of that time is deeply impressed with the manner in which the captains of industry were ruling the laboring masses. Whenever a few workers attempted to combine for mutual interest, they were quickly silenced either by threat or by a direct attack from the officers of the law. The men of money could combine as much as they desired, but the laboring men were handicapped by laws that had been passed against them. Another type of manifest injustice was the laws regarding apprentices, and some of the most inhuman results followed in the application of these apprenticeship laws. It was clearly seen that the capitalistic class and the public officers were linked together in their interests as if they were twin brothers, and the worst of all was that they could legally and jointly fix the wage scale, regulate the work, and dictate their terms to the workers. These conditions developed a form of slavery that was more cruel in its aspects than the negro slavery of the

United States. It is impossible in a brief work like this to give details of this black picture. Those who wish to know more about it must read the economic history of that period.

II.—RECENT LAWS IN FAVOR OF LABOR.

What has brought about the great change in the short space of less than one century? It was the sudden rise of the proletarian in demand of his rights. When we consider that the army of Labor has had no money to spend to buy legislation, it is indeed gratifying that so much has been accomplished in favor of the worker. Notwithstanding the opposition against Labor, the tide has been rising in its favor by reason of the active measures pursued by the army of workers themselves.

Looking over the latter half of the Nineteenth Century and the early part of the Twentieth, we are gratified to see the legal enactments in favor of the toiling masses that have brightened our history. All praise to certain great men who espoused the cause of Labor, and to the vigorous campaigns of organized Labor. We will enumerate a few things that have been accomplished:—

1.—Laws Against Sweatshops.

These laws have been the natural outgrowth of an awakened public, which, having the facts brought to its attention, arose in indignation and demanded a reform. The unfortunate feature is that there is not a strict obedience to the laws we have. The competitive system under which we are living urges men to evade such laws in every possible way. Men will do anything for money; but nevertheless, the evils of sweatshops have been materially decreased under the legislation of the past twenty years.

2.—Sanitary Laws Have Been Enacted Applicable to Factories and Workshops.

These laws have demanded cleaner rooms with better ventilation, and with more freedom of motion by employes; in truth, the laws have called for almost every possible improvement that could be imagined for the benefit of the health of employes.

3.—Laws Have Been Passed Demanding Contrivances for the Removal of Dust and Noxious Vapors.

This has been a very merciful line of legislation; and, if we were to review the conditions that made the enactment of such laws necessary, we would unfold a tale of horror and filth that would scarcely be believed by the more *elite* members of society, who have never endured the hardships of ten-hour-a-day labor.

4.—Laws Have Been Enacted for the Safety of Employes.

It is a well known fact that thousands of workers' lives were lost annually while engaged at their regular employment. Much of this loss could not have been avoided, but the greater part of it was due to the lack of prevention on the part of the employing class. Beltings were cheaply constructed, elevators were not properly inspected, machinery was not duly protected, and in numberless other ways workers were often subjected to the greatest hazards. Under the laws that have been enacted much life has been saved, but we have not yet seen the best fruits of this agitation.

5.—Laws Against Child-Labor.

These laws were a severe blow to the cheap contractor, who could save much money by the use of children. Now the laws demand that, wherever possible, the child shall receive the benefit of an education, and even this education is made compulsory, and the benefits to society accruing from these laws cannot be estimated.

6.—Laws That Have Reduced the Length of a Day's Work to Eight Hours.

We have spoken concerning this matter at some length in another chapter, and will, therefore, add no comment at this place.

The preceding six kinds of legislation are only a small part of what has been enacted in behalf of the laboring classes. There are many other laws of the same general import. Looking at it from one standpoint it appears as if much has already been done for Labor; but, in reality, it is only a tithe toward atonement for past crimes, and as a promise of redemption from the hard conditions that are still being imposed on Labor.

III.—LEGAL ENACTMENTS AGAINST MONOPOLY.

We have outlined in a former chapter the widespread enactment of laws against Monopoly at the close of the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of the Twentieth. We need not repeat these instances at this place, except the one of national significance known as the Sherman Anti-Trust Law; this was passed to prohibit combinations in restraint of trade. Its aim was to cripple the power of the Trusts, and prevent them from gaining absolute control of everything.

Other bills were enacted such as the Elkins Act which was to facilitate the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission in correcting the illegal rebates on freight rates. It is supposed that this act was passed with sinister motives, for it seems to have done more to help corporations to dodge preceding laws than anything else. This shows how difficult it is to deal with the great corporations. We could easily give a list of many other laws that have been passed in the last decade, but they will serve no purpose within the chief idea of this chapter.

IV.—LEGISLATION CONSIDERED AS A REMEDY.

There are those who believe that by legislation all the evils of Trusts and Monopolies will finally be abolished, for some able thinkers have said that our lawmaking bodies will cure all the ills of society. Very few persons, however, are willing to accept this theory, inasmuch as Monopoly owns the money of the earth, and will always be able to swing legislation in its favor.

We are willing to share the opinion of others that much effectual good can be accomplished and will be accomplished by means of legal enactments; but, as a final remedy for the evils of Monopoly, it will amount to very little. In saying this we refer to the continual legislation under our present economic system with Monopoly at the head, and the legislature and senate under its control.

Nothing would please the kings of corporations more than if the mass of workingmen would cease all their agitations, and sit down and wait for acts of legislation to come their way. The workers have learned enough not to allow themselves to be deceived by any such suggestion, for they know that it is a common trick. They have been deceived so often that they would almost be surprised if the deception were stopped. The rise of the army of Labor cannot be checked by mere promises; they are moving with irresistible force, and they have but little faith in lawmakers. They will not be satisfied until they begin to make laws for themselves; and then, perhaps, they will go to the other extreme for awhile, and give the laboring man nearly all the law and the capitalist scarcely any. Extreme measures usually follow extreme conditions, and the happy mean is reached after the suffering at each extreme has been felt.

Let those who tell us that civil law will be a sufficient remedy, remember that the future is mirrored in the past. We may know what to expect by what has happened; and when the Giant Labor stands at the door of legislation and knocks, the door will be opened for him to present his request, and the door-keeper will be likely to say to the Giant, "We will carefully take your grievances into consideration, and if anything can be done for you we shall be glad to do it. Until then, dear fellow, be patient; go to your tasks and work contentedly." When the Giant has gone, these legislators can wink at each other as much as they please and about the only thing that they will do for Labor, will be to grant enough of his requests to keep the Giant quiet.

In the former chapter we demonstrated that rash remedies would never win the day for Labor, and so we would say here that legislation of itself will be ineffective in accomplishing the great work of social reform, and we must look to some other source as a means of bringing Labor into the honored recognition that it deserves.

The real laws that will bless and protect the working class of people have not yet been passed, but they will prevail in that happier age to come, when there will be no incentive to grafting and no motive to partiality in legislation. Why should not the world have its best government toward the end of its history? Why should not the errors and mistakes of all the ages past assist in the forming of a government of the people, for the people and by the people, instead of, of the Trusts, for the Trusts and by the Trusts, such as we are having now? Later in this book we shall discuss the government which will prevail in our country as soon as the people are awakened to see the power that is sleeping in their ballots.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Mutual
Agreement
Remedies

I.—PROFIT-SHARING.

The system of profit-sharing is one of the measures by which the employer has endeavored to elevate the standard of the employee and make him in an indirect sense, a partner in his business. Under this plan, the worker receives a fixed wage throughout the year, and when inventory is taken, a certain per cent. of the net profits of the business is divided among the employees, according to some ratio fixed by the employer. In 1886, Hon. Carrol D. Wright, in his first annual report as United States Commissioner of Labor, gave statistics on this subject, and many students of political economy were surprised to learn that there were so many employers conducting their business under the profit-sharing plan.

Since the dawn of the Twentieth Century a large number of the smaller firms and some of the large firms have been experimenting with the profit-sharing plan. In some instances the motive was philanthropic, and in others it was selfish. There are shrewd business men who believe that more work will be done by their employees if they can be interested more in the business of the employer. Indeed it has been noticed that, under the profit-sharing system, workers have been more careful in their labor, more punctual in their duties, more cheerful in performing their tasks, and more economical in everything that pertains to their employment.

The reason for all this is quite apparent. Nothing will interest a person more than if he feels that he is a partner in the concern for which he works, be his interest therein ever so small.

It seems strange that profit-sharing should be opposed by the great majority of large business men, and also by the labor unions. We will not here discuss the reason why this plan does not meet with more favor amongst the general class of employers, but we will briefly consider why organized Labor is not more in favor of profit-sharing than it is. Suppose for a moment that profit-sharing would become general. It would then be very natural for wages to be adjusted accordingly. If any Monopoly found that its profits were too small, it could easily reduce the wage rate and permit the percentage of profits to remain the same; or, it could continue the wage rate and deceive the employees in some manner, so as to rob them of some of the share of their profits. There is always a way, under private ownership, to defraud the army of workers, and to rob them of what is their rightful share. Labor unions are well aware of these facts, and they are also convinced that, if the army of workers could be induced to settle down in contentment, it would only be a short time until profit-sharing would also come to an end, and the wage earners would be back again in the same old grinding, competitive struggle for existence.

According to Josiah Strong in his "Social Progress" of 1905, there are "some three hundred firms in the United States, Great Britain and France that are practicing this system to-day. Among the most conspicuous cases are the Maison Leclaire, the Maison Baille-LeMaire and the Bon Marche in Paris; the South Metropolitan Gas Company in London; the Proctor and Gamble Soap Works at Cincinnati, Ohio, and the Brown Mills at Tiverton, R. I."

It is also said that the Pillsburys of Minneapolis have followed the principle of profit-sharing for years, and when they sold their interest to an English syndicate, one point of the agreement was that the policy of profit-sharing should continue.

This system of profit-sharing, which is a little over sixty years of age, will no doubt survive until the larger system of product-sharing will take its place. Whether it remains or not, one thing is certain, profit-sharing will never solve the labor question. It is nothing more than sewing a patch of good quality on an old, rotten garment. The most beautiful thing about the whole system is the spirit of philanthropy that has been manifested by certain firms which have adopted this plan. This admirable spirit is like an oasis in the barren desert of greed and graft.

II.—SLIDING SCALE.

This is a remedial proposition among iron and steel workers. It has been instituted by the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, chiefly in Pennsylvania, and it has already accomplished considerable in keeping peace.

The sliding scale means that the amount of wages shall vary as the selling price of the product rises or falls. This is only a kind of profit-sharing managed in a different way. It is supposed that, by the sliding scale, the laborer will share relatively in the prosperity of the capitalist or the employer. This is also one of the partial measures, and, so far as being a remedy for existing social ills, it is only like cutting the branches of the tree instead of tearing the tree up by its roots; but we must not despise profit-sharing for this reason, inasmuch as it has cut off some branches that have cast dark shadows into the hearts of the workingmen. The better way with all these partial reform measures is to hail them with delight, and look upon them as mere stepping stones to the great and final movement against Monopoly.

III.—PIECE-WORK.

This is a modern custom and is a substitute for the wage system. Piece-work is a species of contract work, for in many respects it is similar to it. The laborer is not hired for a specified wage, but receives his pay according to the amount of work he does. Miners are often paid by the number of cars they load a day, or by the yard in driving a tunnel. In many of the factories piece-work is the prevailing system, and while a few are enabled to earn extraordinary wages, the great bulk do not earn as much as they would receive by regular wages. This is due to the "squeezing," by which more and more work is expected for the same amount of money until the limit is reached. There are also certain tradesmen who receive large wages under this system; but, take it all in all, it has done but little to settle the contention between Capital and Labor, and as a reform measure is not worthy of consideration.

IV.—SENDING UNEMPLOYED TO FARMS.

This remedy is offered by certain people, not as a complete cure for our present ills, but as a relief measure in times of distress. There has certainly been very much good accomplished in hard times by forming colonies from the crowded districts of the cities, and sending them into the farming regions where they get work at profitable employment. Some of these workers are sent out temporarily; others are formed or form themselves into colonies with the purpose of establishing permanent homes. Far-reaching good has been accomplished in both ways; but, like all other similar plans, it is not corrective, and can be termed as nothing more than a relief measure. The fact that herds of workers are unable to find employment at certain times, and that they must go begging for work, and to be compelled to go into a strange country to find it, is one more bitter comment on the cruelty of our heartless and competitive Social System.

Looking at the other side of the question, it can be said that these schemes of sending the unemployed to farms, does not meet with favor amongst many groups of idle workers. Many who are out of employment prefer to suffer any privation rather than enter upon a rural life. Experience has shown, however, that colonies from the cities settling in the country readily adapt themselves to it, and find it a pleasant and healthful change. The colonizing schemes in England and in America have, in many instances been most successful. Looking at the whole subject in its best aspect, nothing more can be said than that it has been helpful to a small per cent. of our needy people. To what extent it might be helpful to many thousands more, is a matter of conjecture upon which coming years will cast their light.

V.—ARBITRATION.

This is one of the remedies that has been proposed to settle all Social ills. It has been tested for a long period of time and it appears that much effectual good has been accomplished by this agency, but we cannot depend upon it to destroy the cruelties of our present competitive system. It is a good medicine to apply in case of sickness, and its healing qualities are to be recommended providing the patient will follow instructions. In the United States many boards of arbitration have been formed under the sanction of the local or general government. It is also well known that the United States Government has recognized the efficiency of industrial as well as international arbitration.

Arbitration is of two kinds, voluntary and compulsory, and either one is far from being perfect in many instances. This would be no reason why we should discourage all arbitration, for we need all such agencies that we can possibly get; and, of the entire class, arbitration is one of the most effective means of settling disputes between Capital and Labor.

Under this subject we will call attention to the fact that the Mundella system of arbitration has been in vogue in England, and has been effective of much good. Another system operating in the same country has been termed the Kettle system. These have been two rival systems, and their history is interesting and profitable. We must also class under the head of Arbitration, the Citizens Industrial Association of America, organized in 1903.

France has given the best example of arbitration methods. The number of differences that are annually adjusted range from twenty-five to fifty thousand. This is indeed a marvelous record, and is due to the fact that courts of arbitration are established by law. In this respect, France has distanced the United States; for, while we are having strikes and lockouts in super-abundance, they are having an abundance of cases settled by arbitration. Yet, with all the good done in France, it is clearly proved that arbitration is not to be relied upon for securing permanent peace.

We need an economic system that will prevent the cause of trouble as well as one that will correct the trouble when it has arisen. Thus we must look to some other agency to give us a permanent basis of peace, and settle the disturbances that have arisen between the hostile forces of Capital and Labor. We must not minimize the splendid work that has been done through arbitration. It has pulled the mask from the face of Capitalism and thereby revealed more clearly the nature of the monster of Monopoly, and the injustice which the workers were suffering. The testimonies that have been given at the arbitration hearings have done more to advertise the evils of our present competitive system than one can imagine, and for this service we should ever offer our thanksgiving for the hand of God moving in history.

CHAPTER XIX.

PROPOSED REMEDIES

CHRISTIANIZATION OF CAPITAL
INCOME TAX - SINGLE TAX
SELF-HELP - INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

I.—CHRISTIANIZATION OF CAPITAL.

For many ages past it has been preached from the pulpit and delivered from the platform that the only safe remedy for present evils would be to Christianize the Capitalist. This sounds well and seems reasonable, but it would no doubt be more difficult to Christianize Capital than it would be to Christianize the laboring masses. Dr. Washington Gladden in his "Applied Christianity," declares that "the reform needed is not the destruction, but the Christianizing of the present order." This good-minded divine was aiming at a great truth when he said this, but to tell how Capital can be Christianized is a harder task than to explain how the laboring masses can be elevated to their rightful plane.

It would have been better if Dr. Gladden had advocated the conversion of the present order of economics. It has been found to be impossible to make the present wrongs right under the reign of private capital, free competition and the free contract and wage system. Let this present economic order be converted or transformed into a new order, and we will make it more possible for the exercise of Christian principles among those who live. There are many corporations claiming that they are now working in accordance with Christian principles; certain monopolists declare that they are doing all for their men that is possible, paying them higher wages than the average, and that they are dealing with the public in a fair and equitable manner. This may be true and it may not be true, who is to be the judge?

We might as well say that if you run a saloon in a Christian-like manner, it will do harm to no one. Suppose we try the experiment. First, let us take the Bishop Potter plan, and we find that whiskey, beer, or any other intoxicant sold in the name of Christianity has the same effect upon the individual as if it were sold in the name of the Devil. Now, if we were to run a saloon upon Christian principles, we would, first of all, make a radical change. We would take out all the beverages that intoxicate, and we would sell only such as might be beneficial and healthful to the individual. This, of course, would mean an entire change, and the idea of the place being a saloon would no longer exist.

We do not wish to ridicule the effort on the part of large business men to run their business in a Christian-like manner; we have only words of commendation and none of censure to offer to such men; but we wish to have it clearly understood that all such efforts combined, up to this date, have given no promise of the final redemption of the laboring masses. We speak with positiveness because we know something of the prejudice that has been awakened in the general mass of workers. Men of large corporations, who individually profess to be Christians, have continued their grinding processes and their unjust exploitation of Labor in the name of Christianity; and if good has been done in one quarter by a thoroughly consistent man, harm has been done in another quarter by the man who practices all manner of polite robberies in the name of Christianity. The whole system of Capitalism, as now in power, is rotten. Its heart is unclean and its head impure; it needs a thorough regeneration; its body and soul needs Christianizing which, according to our previous language, means an inward change of the whole system, so that afterward it could be said in the language of Scripture, "Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new."

II.—INCOME TAX.

The income tax is a proposition to exempt all persons from paying taxes who have an annual income below four or five thousand dollars. The theory is to compel those to pay the public expenses who are the most able, and pay it according to the ratio of their income. When this measure was radically put to the front, it met with general favor on the same principle that the members of an organization would vote for an oyster supper if somebody else paid for it.

In 1894 this law was passed by Congress and signed by President Cleveland. The validity of the law was tested, and the United States Supreme Court, by a vote of five to four, declared the law unconstitutional. It was claimed by this court that the construction of the law was defective.

III.—SINGLE TAX.

This is offered by the Manhattan Single Tax League of New York as a cure for many present ills. This league teaches that all land should be taxed according to its possible value, no owner being exempted. The supposition is, that men will not then be tempted to hold hundreds of thousands of acres of land for their own luxury; but they will either hire men to work the land, and thereby give work to more men, or they will sell the land so it may be worked by somebody else. No doubt the benefits of this system are exaggerated, and, as is very frequent in partial theories of reform, it would be clipping off a few branches of the tree of social evil instead of cutting at the roots.

IV.—SELF-HELP.

It is claimed by some that the very best remedy for the poverty stricken class would be the cure of "self-help." The theory is, that the commonwealth or government, should make special provision to teach every young man and young woman the secrets of self-improvement, and, therefore, self-advancement. It has been found that the best methods of relief are those which create and foster the spirit of "self-help."

We answer that "self-help" already has its greatest stimulus in our present competitive system; we cannot see how it would be possible to throw out more inducements for men and women to be independent than are given in this war of the survival of the fittest. It is unavoidable in the present rush of selfishness and competition that some are way down. It will always be so until the causes of the present inequality between man and man shall be swept away to such an extent that all will have an equal opportunity to become what they ought to be.

V.—INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

The Industrial School is no longer an experiment. It is doing on a small scale what Socialism proposes to do on a general scale. It has been tried in Europe and America. When Anthony J. Drexel, with the purest of motives, founded the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, it was said by some that this kind of work would eventually solve the problem of labor and industry. This institute, and others of its kind, have done a great amount of good and nothing but words of praise should be spoken concerning those who have aimed to help humanity in this manner; but as far as settling the discontent among workingmen, the industrial school has accomplished very little.

The theory of the industrial school will find its most practical demonstration under the co-operative system of government. When that happy time comes, there will, no doubt, be industrial schools to train young men and women for the different trades and occupations of life, and when they get their training, they will not find a cruel system of competition keeping them out of work.

There are many other remedies that have been proposed to overcome the present evils of society. Some of these may be worthy of more attention than some we have mentioned, but it is impossible to consider them. The whole list of proposed remedies are inefficient to accomplish the desired result. Reformers are gradually seeing that theory amounts to but very little; for we are dealing with the mighty monster of Monopoly, and nothing but a hard and definite blow will count for anything. Decisive and radical action will save the nation and lift the laboring masses to their proper plane of existence. Men love their pet schemes more than they love the truth, and, for that reason, much time and energy is being wasted. We hail with delight the indication of the times in the strong tendency to unite forces, and, no doubt, the armies of Labor will gather their scattered units together and unite in a common attack upon the fortress of Capital. Until then, let us do what we can to destroy petty jealousies, and counteract extreme teachings, and counsel for sensible Labor agitation.

CHAPTER XX.

EQUAL
OPPORTUNITY
Socialistic
·REMEDIES·

I.—COMMUNISM.

In considering briefly the subject of Communism, we will go no farther back than the days of the early Christians. It is said that they had all things in common. For some time believers tried this method of Social government, and apparently the system failed. If there is any discredit for this it must not be placed upon the Christian faith, or religion, but rather upon the business judgment of the Christian leaders of that time. The attempt to perpetuate any type of Communism amongst a select class of people, living in the midst of a competitive Social system, has always been attended with difficulties, and usually results in failure.

Concerning the community of goods at Jerusalem, it must be observed that it was not compulsory. The system was not inaugurated by a general suffrage, nor by any kind of confiscation. The best light we have on this early Communism is found in the Bible, and we are told that when Ananias had committed his crime, Peter, in speaking to him, made it clear that his sin consisted not in selling his land and keeping the money, but in his *deception* and *falsehood.* Peter said, before Ananias dropped dead, "Whiles it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." Acts 5:4.

Communism as understood to-day, is more radical than any type of advanced socialism, but nothing more need be said, inasmuch as it has given way to other theories and other systems.

II.—CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

We have neither time nor space to speak of a tithe of the organizations that have been formed to improve local communities. Many have flourished for a short time, and then died a natural death; others have lived and demonstrated the value of the Co-operative methods. There is no question as to the superior value of Co-operation; but the garden of Society is so covered with the weeds and briars of competition, that the useful and blessed plants of Co-operation must struggle against all odds before they can conquer in their growth and come to maturity.

One of the most noted modern examples of the co-operative commonwealth is New Zealand. This country had experienced all the troubles that are associated with a competitive system of economics. The country had its periodical strikes, and labor disturbances, and its shadings of poverty and crime. After stumbling in the dark, hunting for the cause of all their economic troubles, they found that it was private ownership and Monopoly. There were wise heads enough to carry sentiment in favor of reform, so child-labor in factories was abolished and a splendid school system was inaugurated. A government farm was established where all the unemployed could find work at $2.00 per day. The large land holdings were divided into small tracts, giving many more the chance to till the soil. To condense a long description into a few words we would say that New Zealand adopted the main features of co-operation and public ownership.

These reforms were instituted in 1893, and, as a result, there has been a wonderful change for the better in the economic affairs of the country. Strikes, crimes and poverty have been decreased and the people are contented and happy. Tramps, beggars and drunkenness have largely disappeared. It is being clearly demonstrated, even to them who were skeptical at first, that the reform movement in New Zealand is the proper solution of the Social ills that formerly afflicted that country, and that still throw their black shadows over America and many other nations.

The co-operative commonwealth idea is giving one object lesson after another of what can be done; and the people are slowly learning the benefits of such systems, and by the experiments that are being made, we will gradually come to learn the best system of co-operation. All these things are school masters giving us the education that is essential for deliverance.

III.—NATIONALIZATION OF LAND.

The nationalization of land is not a system of socialism. The theory is nearly socialistic in its tendency, and we mention it because some stress has been put upon this subject by certain enthusiasts. This theory has been proposed as a cure for Social ills. Mr. Henry George, basing his argument on Ricardo's "Law of Rent," argued that if all land were the common property of the people, it would result in untold blessings to the wage-earners.

We believe there is more dreamy speculation in this conclusion than appears at first sight. There is no doubt that some good might be accomplished under the reign of Mr. George's ideas, but it is certain that all he has promised could not be realized by the industrial class.

There are many other things that must be taken into consideration and properly adjusted before a substantial relief will be felt by the great class of wage-earners. The mass of modern reformers are not inclined to hang their hopes upon the Nationalization of Land doctrines alone.

IV.—SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

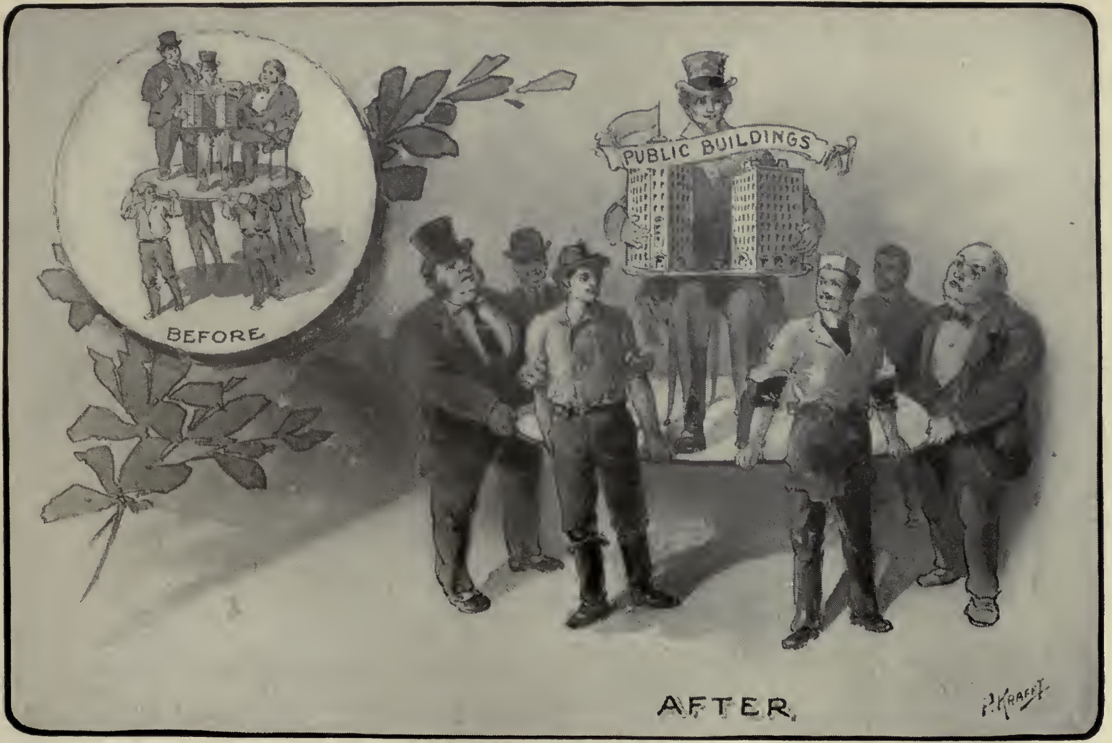
This is a political movement, and was among the first in the United States to attempt a marshaling of forces in a presidential campaign. This particular political party is radically opposed to trade unions. This party has done much pioneer work, and has helped to bring about its own destruction. It is gradually giving way or being absorbed by the Socialist Party.

V.—SOCIALIST PARTY.

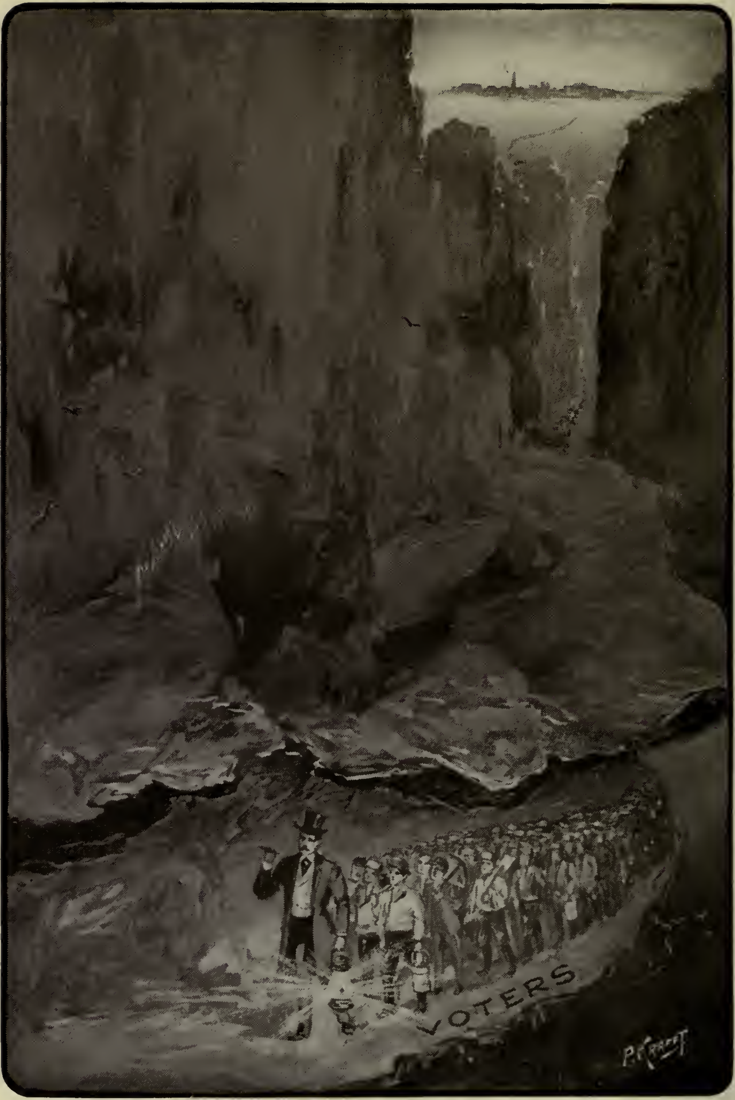
The Socialist Party is known in the states of New York and Wisconsin as the Social Democratic Party. This is due to the peculiarity of the laws in these states by which the party cannot style itself the Socialist Party, and so we have one great political movement under two wings, that is aiming to gather and foster enough sentiment in favor of the co-operative method until enough votes can be won to carry the national election. Already a number of smaller officers have been elected in different parts of the country. The combined vote of these two parties was between four and five hundred thousand in the year 1904. The platform of the Socialist Party in 1904 is very comprehensive, and so lengthy that we cannot insert it here.

There are other socialistic movements that have been operating to remedy the present evils of society; they are all struggling for existence, each one hoping to sweep the world with its power by some sudden uprise of popular opinion. If it were not for the policy of each one operating in his own little corner, the redemption of Labor would quickly come to pass; but it will necessarily occupy much time and consume much energy in uniting the movements of social reform.

In the next chapter we shall consider Socialism directly, with the hope that the reader may get a clear idea of what is meant by this movement.


BEFORE
PUBLIC BUILDINGS
AFTER
P. KRAFFT

Before and After.—In the present age the army of workers must carry the burdens of Monopoly in addition to the national burdens. When Co-operation is established, then the rich and poor will alike bear all the burdens.



Following the Political Leader.—One of the most pitiful sights of our present age, is the manner in which the masses of voters are tricked by campaign promises. They follow the leader like slaves into deeper darkness.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOCIALISM
SOCIAL REFORM

The word Socialism has been used in a very elastic sense to cover the principal schools of economical reform through the past ages. There is a reason for this confusion since many have called themselves Socialists who breathed the air of the libertine and who walked in the path of Anarchy; but gradually the ear of corn is being stripped of its dark husks, and the world is seeing more clearly the good and wholesome grain. Thoughtful men are rapidly clearing their minds of the prejudice that they have held against Socialism, because they are making allowance for the wild and erratic expressions of certain laborers who feel the iron heel of oppression and are blindly striking back. Christian men have long ago recognized the inequalities between neighbors of the human family, and have been looking for a method to equalize the conditions under which the human brotherhood shall live. They have found that true social reform offers the best remedy for existing ills. It is therefore proper to give an idea of what is meant by Socialism.

I.—DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM.

Socialism is a new industrial system which aims to give to all a more equal distribution of the products of Labor by the public collective ownership and management of all industries and all land.

We will give a number of other definitions from various sources. Let us first listen to what the dictionaries say:

"Socialism is a theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."—Webster.

"Socialism is a science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry."—Worcester.

"Socialism is the abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action."—Imperial.

"Socialism is a theory of policy that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is 'Everyone according to his deeds.' "—Standard.

"Socialism is any theory or system of local organization which would abolish entirely, or in a great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; which would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community."—Century.

We will now give a few definitions of Socialism from certain writers on Social Reform:

"What Socialists (and many anti-Socialists as well) propose for early adoption is: City ownership and management of lighting plants, water works and street railroads, and national ownership and management of railroads, telegraphs and mines."—Wilbur F. Crafts in "Practical Christian Sociology."

"Socialism aims to unite the greatest liberty of action with the common ownership of the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor."—John Stuart Mill.

"Socialism, in general, desires to abolish private property only in so far as it enables one to gather an income through the toil of others without personal exertion. * * * Not only are the material instruments of production to be owned in common, but they are to be managed by the collectivity in order that to the people as a whole, may accrue all those gains of enterprise called profits. * * * We may call the chief purpose of Socialism distributive justice."—Ely's Socialism.

"Socialism abhors the violent methods of fanatics; it is peaceful and law-abiding, and it puts its trust in ballots rather than in bombs. * * * The hull of the present industrial ship is rotten and utterly unseaworthy; her keel of *private capital,* her vaulted ribs of *freedom of contract,* and her prow of *free competition,* all fused together and festering with the vicious principle of self-interest, have come to be in the progressive evolution of society, economically indefensible and socially destructive assumptions.

"Such is the leaky condition of the worn-out craft of individualism, endangering the lives alike of its capitalistic cabin passengers and its laboring steerage passengers, when the Socialistic Ship of State comes alongside and invites the imperilled passengers and crew to get on board. We examine the principles on which the new ship is constructed, and, finding them to be civil liberty, fraternal equality and social justice, we are logically bound to accept them without regard to the particular manner in which the ship may be rigged."—F. M. Sprague, in "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation."

"Socialism deserves an entire volume for its discussion, and no attempt will be made in this book to analyze or define it. Under it, there is contemplated a complete revolution by some means, peaceful or otherwise, of the present industrial system, and the establishment of a new order, which shall rest entirely upon public control."—Carroll D. Wright, "Outline of Practical Sociology" Page 421.

We will cease giving definitions for the present, because, according to Mr. Weeks, a clear conception cannot be gained in this manner. We quote from one of his speeches: "Socialism is a living phenomenon, and like all live things, eludes definition. A live thing can be viewed at so many different angles, and, besides, it changes so insensibly from moment to moment, that to sit down and make an all around definition of it is a task nearly hopeless."—Rufus W. Weeks.

II.—AIMS OF SOCIALISM.

The aims of Socialism are supposed to be embodied in the definitions which we have just given, but very frequently a person may read the definitions and yet not know much about the subject. It is our purpose to make this subject clear, and so we will proceed to give the objects which the Social Reformers have in view.

1. The Collective Ownership and Management of all the Industries.
2. The Equalization of the Burdens of Society.
3. Individuals Sharing the Full Social Products of Their Labors.

These are three great aims and must be understood in order to be appreciated. The Co-operative Commonwealth is a coming reality, and will be here just as soon as the general mass of people are fully awakened to their privileges. We will give the postoffice system of the United States as a practical illustration of public ownership and management; and, if a person can see how beneficial this is, he will then be able to see how the principle will work in other branches of industry.

It seems like a miracle that the true, common sense idea of social economics should find its full expression in relation to the postoffice department. It is a wonder that the schemers did not prevent the public ownership and management of this splendid department. As we now have it, all the people own the entire postoffice service from one end to the other of our great country; and, for that reason, a letter can be sent across fifteen states for as much money as it will cost to send across one county. In addition to this, the same rules and regulations are operative throughout the whole system, so that a business man can calculate with accuracy when he deals with the postoffice department.

Can you imagine the result, if private monopolies controlled this department of service? No doubt we would have one company running a mail line from San Francisco to Denver, and another from Denver to Chicago, and another from New York to Washington, and after this fashion the lines would be duplicated until our country would be covered with private mail systems, each one competing with the other, and after the order of the express companies, each one charging its own rate, so that it would cost possibly sixteen cents to send a letter across the continent, nine cents half that far, and three cents for shorter distances. If this were proposed instead of our present Socialistic system, how many people would be willing to make the change? We need not wait for an answer, nearly all business men are ready to admit that one of the most reliable concerns is the postoffice system under the supervision of the government.

Would it not be a great blessing to all the people if the railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone companies, and, in fact, every other industry, were under the control of all the people instead of being controlled by a few grasping, greedy monopolists who take advantage wherever opportunity offers? Why should not the national government own all the railroads in the nation? The advantages that would flow to the people would be countless compared with what they now enjoy. Our government would have owned the railroads long ago, if it were not for the fact that the railroad corporations can afford to buy up enough of the state legislators and enough of the lawmakers at Washington to carry through any project they desire. It is said, on good authority, that in the legislature of one of the western states, a single state legislator received and distributed a thousand railroad passes in one session for the purpose of winning political support. The poor people must pay enough carfare so that many who are *able* to pay can ride free. The saddest feature of all is that this bribery plunders the state and also demoralizes its citizens.

Another curse of the private ownership of our railroads is seen in the large number of killed and wounded annually. Some one has said that it is more dangerous to be employed on an American railroad than to be a soldier in the Prussian army in time of war. If the government owned the railroads, then there would be no time or expense spared for the adjustment of safety appliances, and for the adoption of all other precautionary measures, and all these benefits would be furnished at cost. As we now have it, the people of the United States are paying dividends on several billions of watered stock, and in many sections of our country they are also paying the expense of keeping up competing lines where one railway would be sufficient. A person who will give honest thought to this question, can see at a glance what tremendous advantages would come to us, if the government owned and controlled all the transportation mediums of the country.

Think for a moment of the telephone service. Competition forces upon a community two or three companies, and a person having only one telephone is limited to that exclusive company's operations. If the government owned its own system of telephones, we would not be obliged to ask whether a certain party had this 'phone or that 'phone, for all such inconveniences and relics of competition would be swept away. With very little thought it can be seen that competition under private ownership is both burdensome and inconvenient to Society.

The more difficult problem for solution is to make practical the public ownership of industries that pertain to the manufacture of food stuffs, wearing apparel, and all the articles that are used in our homes and business life. This will be a later step in the history of public ownership and it will not be inaugurated until other measures have been enacted. The first question is: "How shall we get possession of our industries?" For the answer to this question we will refer you to a chapter XXVII. If the government once obtains possession of all the trusts and monopolies, it can then easily run them under its own management. The great difference will be, that the people as a whole, will share in the benefits of all the trusts in the country, instead of the benefits flowing into the hands of the kings of finance, some of whom are so rich that their fortunes have attracted the attention of all the world.

As to the second and third aims of Socialism, these will naturally and easily follow if the first aim is reached. The blessings that will come to society as a result of Co-operative rule, we have unfolded in three chapters entitled, "Blessings Under Social Reform." We invite the reader to study these three chapters carefully, in order to get a brief picture of the numberless blessings that will surely come to us when the glorious day of Social Reform is at hand.

III.—REMARKS CONCERNING SOCIALISM.

1.—Socialism is Practical, and is Endorsed by Eminent Men.

Untried theories are looked upon with suspicion, but Socialism is more than theory; it is even more than an experiment. Many of its first principles have been tried with very satisfactory results. Hon. Robt. P. Porter, Superintendent of the United States Census of 1890, in a letter from England says, "It is claimed, and I shall show hereafter, with considerable truth, that whenever the government or the municipality, in England, has undertaken an enterprise heretofore managed by private individuals, the work has been more satisfactorily done; those employed have been better paid, and the people are better pleased with the result. * * * The excellent results from municipal ownership of gas and water works and the profits from these enterprises, have settled this phase of the municipal problem for all time to come.''

Municipal ownership gives us a very direct idea on a small scale, of what true Social Reform will do on a large scale. It cannot be doubted that municipal ownership is very successful, and is paving the way for the larger movement; for not only hundreds but thousands of cities are voting for municipal ownership. A short time ago the legislature of Nebraska passed a law compelling the city government of Omaha to take possession of its water works. Public opinion is ripening so rapidly on this question, that over one-half of all the cities and towns in the United States own their waterworks. Reports are coming in from all places of the great success of this new movement. People get better service for less money, and could not be persuaded to return to the old time custom.

Along the general line of Municipal Ownership, the United States is far behind Great Britain. This country across the sea is launching into new territory; it is slowly but surely pursuing a policy leading toward the co-operative commonwealth. In Glasgow, where nearly a million people live, the municipal ownership idea has been developed to an unusual extent. The city owns and manages its own slaughter houses, its market system, its sanitary washhouses, its lodging houses, art galleries, gas and electric works, and city farm where the sewage is used, and fodder raised to feed horses that are needed to clean the city streets.

It is remarkable what effect this municipal ownership is having on the city of Glasgow. Its working people are elevated; wealth is distributed; the number of hours for a day's work has been reduced; street-car fares have been greatly cut; all kinds of transportation are cheaper; and in every way, great blessings have come to the people.

If it were necessary, we could give this one testimony from over one thousand cities, to prove that municipal ownership is working favorably, and that the people could not be persuaded to surrender their publicly controlled franchises, and hand them over to a few individuals to run them as they might see fit.

The advocates of Social Reform are now legion, and among them are some bright lights. Back in the middle of the Nineteenth Century it was both vaguely and definitely advocated in America by such illustrious characters as Hawthorne, Emerson, Lowell, Whittier, Thoreau, Channing, Chas. A. Dana. England also furnished a shining galaxy of able Socialistic advocates.

2.—Socialism is the Fifth Industrial Order in the History of Labor.

We will once more give a bird's-eye-view of the five industrial systems covering the history of Labor.

(1) Natural Liberty.

Under this system or systemless order of society, every man worked for himself and enjoyed the bounties of nature at his own pleasure. Society was then simple and rude, and was in its first stages.

(2) Slavery.

This became the ruling form of labor in all the great countries of ancient times. Labor then was at its lowest point.

(3) Feudalism.

This was a slight advance over slavery and was predominant through medieval times.

(4) Capitalistic and Contract System.

This is the system under which we are now living. It is capitalistic because private capital is the ruling power in the labor world.

(5) Socialism.

This is not here yet, but it is coming with steady advance, and no power will be able to stop the avalanche when its full sweep is on.

This leads us to make the following declaration:

3.—SOCIALISM IS A WORLD-WIDE INFLUENCE AND WILL FINALLY TRIUMPH.

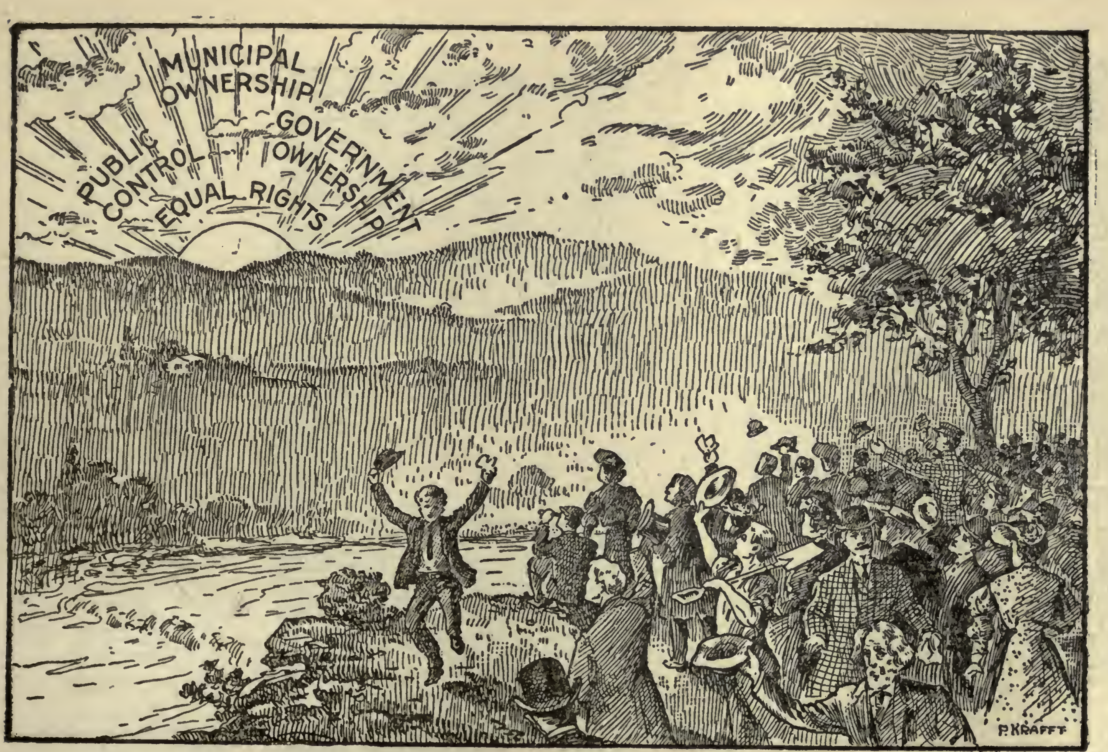
It was hoped by some of the great Socialists that the better state of Society would come about by evolution; but the majority of people have been taught that evolution takes several million years to make a partial change in the organism of the body; consequently, some practically minded men approve of the movement in politics. This method will accomplish more in one decade than evolution could accomplish in ages; so that viewing Socialism conservatively, it must be said that it is now passing through the dark valley between two mountain tops. It is gradually scaling the steep inclines, and it shall have for its support the most eminent scholars in the very near future. It is fighting the same battle that Christianity fought in the beginning. It was said then, "Not many wise men, not many mighty, not many noble are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound things which are mighty; and base things of the world, things which are despised hath God chosen, yea and things which are not, to bring to nought the things that are." Although Christianity had humble men for its leaders, yet, through its inherent qualities, it has grown to be a world-wide power, and is supported by the greatest minds in the world; so we predict that Socialism shall have a similar course.

The public press of our country is largely controlled by the dominant political parties, and therefore the people are not given the most encouraging news concerning the advance of Socialistic thought. The Socialistic party had a stormy beginning, and many of its adherents were not in accord with the Christian church, and therefore, they held many of their political meetings on Sunday, (as they still do), at which, in some instances, intoxicating drinks are used. Such facts as these have given a "black eye" to the Socialistic movement; but these things will be counteracted when the attention of the general public is aroused to see the real condition of things. When the prevailing sentiment in the Socialistic party manifests the spirit of true Christianity, these objectionable things will vanish like the darkness before the rising sun.

The reader can draw his own conclusion as to the probable outcome of this political movement. We are evidently standing on the edge of great agitations in the industrial world. The millionaire, Rufus W.

Weeks, said, "That great movement of which we have seen the beginning in the Nineteenth Century, and of which the Twentieth Century is very likely to see the consummation, is the uprising of the working class, * * * those who are hired in herds. * * * The venerable historian, Mommsen, said, concerning Socialists a year or two since: 'To-day this is the only great party which has a claim to political respect.' * * * If, in this attempt to read the Social mathematics of the times, I have read aright, it appears that the working classes are to be our masters! Let us hope they will be good to us. After all, they will demand no more from us than the northern states demanded of the southern—to come in and to be one with them on equal terms."

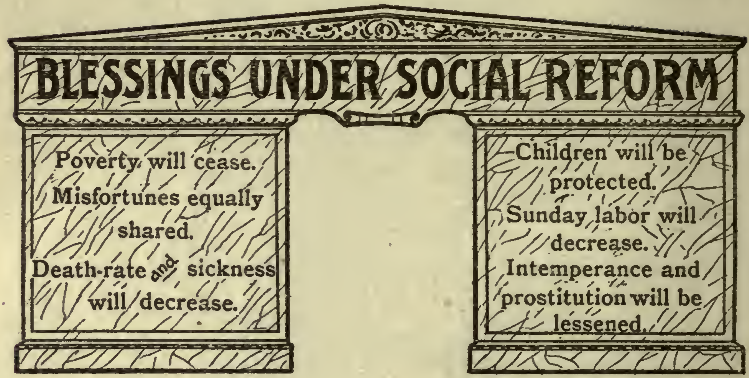
When the new economic government is established, it is quite certain that all reasonable people will greatly rejoice, and will clearly see the definite advantages of the new order over the old. We will state in the next three chapters a few of the blessings which we will realize under the reign of the Socialistic government.



MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP
GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP
PUBLIC CONTROL
EQUAL RIGHTS
P. KRAFFT

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA.—The new age of deliverance is come. The young and the old together will shout for joy when the sun of equal rights, etc., arises.

CHAPTER XXII.


BLESSINGS UNDER SOCIAL REFORM
Poverty will cease.
Misfortunes equally shared.
Death-rate and sickness will decrease.
Children will be protected.
Sunday labor will decrease.
Intemperance and prostitution will be lessened.

It has often been asked: "What advantages would we enjoy if we were now living in a state of Christian Socialism?" This is a natural and a reasonable question, and, if it were necessary, we might suggest or conjecture all the possible benefits entering into every detail of life; but it is not necessary. We will, however, state some of the chief blessings that will come to us as soon as we are willing to throw off the yoke under which we are now groaning, and step out into the liberty of the new and happy life of Social Reform.

We will give in this chapter and the one following, a few results that will follow in practical life under Christian Socialism; a person of average ability can then easily make a wider application of the same principles, working it out on any line that his fancy might dictate. If the great questions of life are settled, the smaller ones will adjust themselves. We will at once consider a few blessings.

I.—POVERTY WILL BE AT AN END.

First, we will speak of the poverty of the poor. What terrible pictures of wretchedness and want rise before us, as we think of the conditions in which the most unfortunate classes of human beings are compelled to work and live. In one picture we see the hosts of honest workers, underpaid, underfed, poorly clad, badly housed and over-worked, living from hand to mouth on the starvation wages which they receive in return for eight, ten or twelve hours of slavish work a day. Another picture reveals to us the vagrant class composed of the worthless, shiftless vagabonds of Society. Another picture portrays, with cruel vividness, the widow and the orphan struggling in a cold world, with the breadwinner dead, and the bread-seller asking for his cash. These are only a few of the touching sights that greet us in practical life, and ever remind us of the miserable poverty of the poor. All these conditions will be at an end under the glorious reign of Social Reform, for there will be no underpaid and underfed workmen, no vagrants and no widow who must become a wage-earner to support her five children.

One of the first duties of Society under Co-operation will be to supply every human being with ample food, clothing, shelter and education. From a Social standpoint, this will be all for which the people will ask. The law of Social Reform is plain and distinct that no human creature need to live in suspense when contemplating the future. Each one will be sure of having enough to eat and wear to the end of his days. He will not only receive the necessities of life, but will also enjoy a reasonable share of the luxuries. There will be no low, dirty hovels where human beings will be compelled to live; in fact, Society will not permit anyone to live in such an unsanitary place, no matter how much he might wish to do so. To live in filth will be just as unlawful as to steal. Everybody will enjoy full liberty to do right, but to do wrong will be just as unlawful as it ever has been.

Some one asks the question, "How will it be possible for everybody to live comfortably? Where will the money come from?" We answer, even if it be out of place at this point, by saying, that another of the great duties of Society will be to see that every person is sure of work. There will be no children toiling their lives away in the sweat-shop or workshop to help keep the wolf from the door of their home. There will be no widows slaving at the wash-tub to earn a little money to buy bread for themselves and children. There will be no half-sickly fathers struggling on their way to work under the law of grim necessity. All these barbarous scenes will be, in those days, only pictures hanging on the walls of beautiful homes, reminders of the tyranny and oppression of the capitalistic system under which we are consciously and unconsciously groaning to-day.

Every man will be glad to do his share of the work when he realizes that he is receiving the full product of his toil, and when Social Reform is reigning, no man will be required to work more than from four to seven hours per day, according to the kind of occupation and degree of effort. Woe betide the man who is able to work, and tries to evade it in that day. If he will not work in open liberty a few hours per day, he will be compelled to work in the criminal workshops twice that length of time until he is cured. The man who is born lazy will not be killed, but will only be required to do the same amount of work as his fellow men; and if that should happen to kill him, he will receive a decent burial; but the man who is sickly and unable to work, will receive the same considerate attention and care as a mother would bestow upon a sickly child. Social Reform proposes to make as practical as possible, the social teachings of Jesus Christ. It does not intend to do the work of the Christian Church, but leaves all spiritual teaching to the spiritual department.

All such provisions as heretofore mentioned will result in lifting the grovelling masses upon a higher plane of life. Who, then, will be homesick for the old conditions such as we now have? Who will be desirous for the onions and garlic of Egypt?

Having considered the poverty of the poor, we will now speak of the poverty of the rich, which sounds like a contradiction in terms. The great majority of our wealthy people are poor in more ways than one under the strained conditions of our present economic life. We are not looking at the matter spiritually, but refer to the natural burdens and struggles imposed upon the rich by reason of their environments. There are, proportionately, just as many lives ruined and just as many sent to a premature death by riches as by poverty. We can also carry the comparison still farther, by saying, that there are just as many cases of nervous prostration and insanity resulting from the abnormal conditions of wealth as from the painful conditions of poverty. The great masses of poor people are just as unconscious of the restlessness, anxiety and misery among the rich, as the rich are of the wretchedness and want amongst the poor. There are exceptions to all rules, and, no doubt, there are many rich people who are having a good, easy time in this life, and are unmindful of their duties to God and Society. Many of these will go down to eternal ruin, while from the humble hut many a poor Christian will rise to eternal mansions in Heaven.

Under the reign of Social Reform, this poverty of the rich will be at an end, and we believe that there will be thousands of wealthy people who will be glad to let their responsibility be limited to a few hours work per day, instead of carrying day and night a load intolerable, and yet be envied. No doubt when Social Reform commences its reign, due regard will be given to those who possess a fortune, large or small. Just what will become of their wealth and how it will be managed for the good of the owner and the good of Society, will be determined later. Small difficulties of this kind ought not and will not retard the progress of Social Reform.

II.—THE FINANCIAL BURDEN OF ALL MISFORTUNES WILL BE BORNE BY THE PUBLIC.

The principal suffering that will come to the home of any individual meeting with misfortune, will be sorrow of heart, and the natural troubles and inconveniences that usually attend afflictions. Such burdens are unavoidable, but whatever money or human means can do, will be furnished promptly and freely, and the wage-earner with those dependent upon him, will be fully supported during the whole period of affliction.

Concerning accidents and all similar misfortunes, we would say that the injured will be properly cared for in the municipal hospital, or, in certain cases, in the individual's home. All the cost for this attention will be free, and the service given will be the best that Society can furnish. The state will provide an ample and a most efficient corps of nurses, and expert attention will be given, free of charge, to those who need it, regardless of their circumstances.

What is true concerning accidents, is also true concerning all kinds of sickness. The services of the ordinary or special physician will be free, and he will not be required to work like a slave night and day. He will ordinarily be on duty no more than six or eight hours, and he will receive everything essential to life and happiness for his compensation.

Also in that glorious coming age there will be no competing drug stores dealing out all kinds of poisonous patent medicines. This department will be under the control of the state, and nothing but the purest and best tested remedies will be used.

In the event of death, Social Reform does not promise to heal heart wounds that have been made, but it does promise to take away the bitter stings that are so often felt under our present system. It will do all this by properly taking care of the remains, under the charge of competent undertakers, and after the remains have been respectably interred, there will be no bill for the graveyard plot, or for the undertaker's services, coming to the bereaved family. All this will be just as free as the air they breathe. Just before we wrote this chapter, we were called upon one morning by a broken-hearted father. He had just lost by death his dearly beloved boy, which was trouble enough for himself and his companion to bear, but the sudden blow found him unprepared financially; and so the weeping man went to the cemetery association, a sort of trust owning the graveyard plot, and inquired about a place to bury the child. He was told that if he wished the regular place of burial, which in reality meant a decent place, he would be obliged to pay some money in advance. Under no other condition could he bury unless he were to take a place in the poverty lot, and even this would cost him a small sum. So the poor, bereaved man started on a journey among his friends to borrow money to buy a lot in the cemetery. He found no little trouble in getting the necessary money, and after this was secured, he then found himself embarrassed to cover other necessary expenses in connection with the funeral. It is, indeed, a disgrace that a man must have added to his heart sorrow the delicate embarrassments such as above cited. This is only one instance, and it is a very common one, and always will be, under our present economic system. During the glorious reign of Social Reform, all these inhuman conditions will be swept away, and, while religion will comfort the sorrowing hearts of the bereaved, the Co-operative methods will attend to all that relates to the temporal side.

III.—THE DEATH-RATE AND SICKNESS WILL BE DECREASED UNDER SOCIAL REFORM.

No one can estimate the amount of hidden misery and suffering that is existing amongst the poorer classes of people, just because they dread to send for a physician, knowing that they cannot afford to be sick, yet unable to avoid it. Many a case of sickness is allowed to go beyond all reasonable limits just because of this fact, and when the physician does come, he shakes his head unfavorably and says, "You should have sent for me sooner." It frequently happens that death cannot be stayed. Hardly anybody would refuse to send for a competent physician, if all his services were rendered free of charge.

Take a walk through the factories and you will find many a poor sickly person struggling at his work, instead of being in bed. We have known of scores of persons who were constantly taking medicine, and yet continuing their labors at the factory in their miserably unfit condition, just because they "could not afford to be sick." Such conditions are most convincing proof of the present ill-ordered state of society. We have often told such people that it would be better if they would stop work in time, but necessity drives them on to their utmost exertion until, figuratively speaking, they drop in their tracks; and then, perchance, a worse form of sickness will develop, or even death itself will come. Multiply these few conditions above mentioned by hundreds of thousands and you have an idea of the total picture as presented in our whole country.

Under Social Reform no one will be required to drag out his last remnant of strength in the cruel struggle for existence. Neither will premature death be brought about by the fearful unsanitary conditions in thousands of our homes.

IV.—CHILDREN WILL BE PROPERLY PROTECTED UNDER SOCIAL REFORM.

When the facts are known, one shudders at the cruelties which children suffer under our present Social System. Laws have been enacted against child labor, and the public schools have thrown open their doors for all alike, and the Christian Church and Sunday-school willingly furnish moral and spiritual teaching; yet with all these advantages, there are immense numbers of children who are suffering the worst end of our present competitive system. They are underfed and insufficiently clothed; they have no home in the true sense; they simply go to their abode at night. We refer mainly to the slum districts of our large cities. We spoke in the first chapters of this book about the many men who were in extreme poverty. We must remember that to every man in these districts we must count several children, who are reeking in the natural and moral filth that surrounds them. These children scarcely ever see a suit of new clothing or a pair of new shoes. They roam the streets from early morning until late at night, and frequently sleep in the open air.

There are also other children who are compelled to work, their parents having declared that they needed their support. To these, even the law brings no comfort. They are toiling away their precious days of promise under the heavy yoke of industrial oppression. It is no wonder that many of them die young, or are only half developed as they enter the avenues of advanced life. From these ranks swarm many of the vicious and vagrant classes. They have had no other training, and society is put to endless annoyance and expense to deal with them in their more mature life. Pages could be written in describing the wretchedness and other conditions of these millions of children all over our country, whose chances for a happy and successful life are fearfully limited by their environment.

Under the reign of Social Reform, things will be entirely different; no child will be required to work to support its parents. It will in early life have the benefit of the best kindergartens. There will be no privileged class of children enjoying these benefits alone, but all children alike will enjoy them; and later they will have the chance to obtain a liberal education; and throughout all these years they will be taught to perform some useful kind of work.

When the new age of Social Reform is upon us, then land will be more easily secured for recreation purposes and parks and playgrounds will be distributed in happy profusion. Children in their play need not then roll in the dirty alleys of a city, or breathe the dusty atmosphere of the public street. There will be no slum districts; everybody will be able to live in a neat, comfortable home, and with the better conditions for rearing of children, and the more favorable opportunities given them for happiness and development, we may expect that the future race will be decidedly in advance of the present.

V.—SUNDAY LABOR WILL BE REDUCED TO A MINIMUM.

Does a workingman really know what he will be required to do before long, if he continues to be the slave of the Capitalist? He will be obliged to work seven days a week and just as many hours per day as can be forced upon him. The great bulk of the unnecessary Sunday work already demanded by the corporations is one more evidence of their inhuman greed. Some one says that the men are not compelled to work on Sunday. True enough; they can take their choice, work on Sunday or refuse to work and be discharged. In some instances men have worked many years for a company and during all this time have tied themselves down to one line of work, and for that reason are now able to earn higher wages than they can possibly earn at anything else. Suddenly the employer comes with a demand for his men to work on Sunday, not because the work is absolutely necessary, but because more money can be made. This is the inhuman and brutal part of the whole matter. The men are powerless and have no way of seeking redress, providing they refuse to comply with the demand. In this manner things have been going from bad to worse, until many railroads and other corporations make scarcely any distinction between Sunday and the week-day.

Under Social Reform Sunday will be a day of rest. Just where the line will be drawn, no one can predict; but if the idea of profit is once taken away, then the necessity for work on Sunday will diminish manifold. Whatever work must be done as an act of mercy to animals, or to provide for human needs, that could not be done prior to Sunday, will be done on Sunday, and when Social Reform commences its reign, you will find that no man will be required to work on Sunday more than a few hours, except in extreme cases; and if he wishes, he shall have ample opportunity of attending religious services the same day he works. Instead of the Sunday excursions that are now demanded, there will be more week day excursions, and all people will have an opportunity of sharing sufficiently in these pleasures without being compelled to take Sunday for them.

VI.—INTEMPERANCE WILL BE CHECKED UNDER SOCIAL REFORM.

Any conscientious man readily acknowledges that the traffic in intoxicating liquors is one of the most terrible evils that afflict human Society. We are terrified at the awful spectacle of debauchery and crime resulting from this monster of iniquity. The evil of intemperance has caused more disaster than war, pestilence and famine combined.

What Herculean efforts have been made to overthrow the curse of intemperance, and yet, with all that has been accomplished, the evil seems to be just as black and withering as ever. Prohibition offers its radical remedy, and no doubt the nation would be greatly blessed under the reign of a strict prohibitory law. But Social Reform does not urge any one method as a remedy. Each community will settle these moral questions by a majority vote. Social Reform itself will strike at one of the vital roots that support the tree of this iniquity.

Look at the question soberly for a moment, and ask yourself, what is the main cause that keeps intemperance alive; what will your answer be? Will you say it is a desire on the part of men to spend money? Surely that will not be correct. Will you say it is the demand of people to gratify a craving appetite? You are now coming nearer to the solution, and no doubt this is one great cause of the evil. But think of the other, *the profit that men make in the liquor business!* That is by far a greater cause of intemperance than most people imagine. Social Reform expects to sweep away this phase of the whole business. It will no longer be profitable for any person to make or sell intoxicating drinks. The more you think of this, the more you are impressed with the strength of it as a cause of intemperance. When the day comes that a man will receive just as much at any other kind of work as at manufacturing and selling strong drink; or in other words, when no more strong drink is made than human society permits,—and then made without profit to any individual,—intemperance will receive a blow from which it can never recover and do the evil which it is now doing under our present economic system. A certain writer said, "Take away the power of making money by this traffic, and the heaviest gun of the enemy is spiked.'' Reformers will then have much more chance to overcome the evils in connection with the depraved appetite.

The profit feature is the secret of the great power of the liquor interests at present. They have made, and are making, fabulous fortunes from the business; and therefore they hold enough money to corrupt legislators, demoralize jurors and bribe officers whenever a necessary emergency arises. The liquor dealers of Illinois instructed their new board of trustees to spare neither trouble nor expense to properly organize every senatorial district in the state, so that by the time of the next election of members to the General Assembly, the business men engaged in the liquor trade may be thoroughly organized and disciplined.

Josiah Strong in ''Our Country'' says, ''Although the liquor lobby during the last forty years has used millions of dollars in corrupt bargaining and bribery, and never has made a secret of the fact, yet no member was ever caught in the act, and, it is fair to presume, no one ever will be. There is no way so dark they cannot find their road through.''

In the light of these and many other instances, it can be seen that when Social Reform destroys private capital and therefore eliminates the system of profit and competition in business, it will then strike the most effective blow that King Alcohol has ever received.

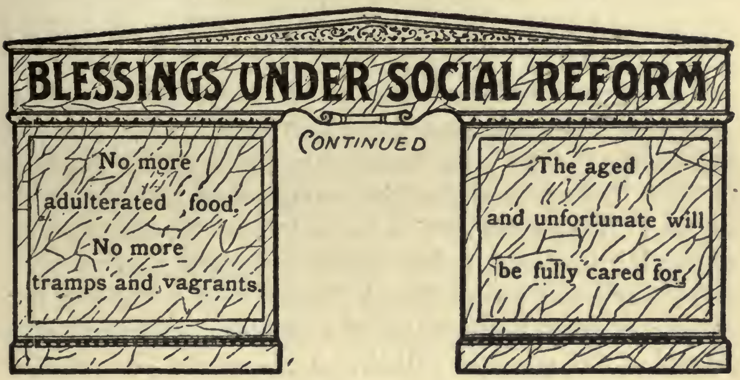
VII.—PROSTITUTION AND CRIME WILL BE LESSENED UNDER SOCIAL REFORM.

It is not necessary to enter into any argument at length to prove that prostitution will also receive a very effective blow when once other means of a comfortable livelihood are provided. There are thousands of prostitutes who will gladly engage in useful work when once it can be furnished honorably, and when they can be assured that the employment is permanent and profitable.

Using the same form of argument we conclude that crime in general will be lessened under the reign of Social Reform. Investigate the cause of crimes and you will find that money getting is at the bottom of a large percentage of it. When this incentive no longer exists, then much of the crime will also vanish.

Such blessings as are here mentioned could be given to a wearisome extent, so numerous are the benefits that will flow to society when the present grinding, competitive system falls to pieces, and the glorious reign of Social Reform takes its place. In the next chapter we will add a few more of the most general blessings, and we will let what we have given in these two chapters, answer for the complete list.

CHAPTER XXIII.


BLESSINGS UNDER SOCIAL REFORM
CONTINUED
No more adulterated food.
No more tramps and vagrants.
The aged and unfortunate will be fully cared for.

VIII.—ADULTERATION OF FOODS WILL BE STOPPED.

One of the greatest evils of competition is the adulteration of foods and the manufacture of imperfect goods. A very little thought will make it clear to any person why this is true. The competitor is in the race to make as much money as possible, and, if he be dishonest, he is tempted to use an inferior article, so that he can underbid or undersell the other dealers, who, up to this time, may have endeavored to be honest. Has it occurred to your mind how much adulteration is being imposed on a credulous public as the direct result of this war of competition?

Flour is adulterated with soapstone and many other ingredients. Once in our life we had occasion to travel by a mill where they ground soapstone into powder. We saw ton after ton of this stone being hauled to the mill, and our curiosity was aroused. Upon inquiry, we learned that this soapstone was used to adulterate flour, for, when properly ground, it had the same appearance and weighed heavier than flour. Will anyone argue that this soapstone was used for the good of the public? The only conclusion that can be reached is that it was used for the purpose of making more money. Soapstone can be hauled from the quarry and ground into powder for much less than good wholesome flour can be produced from wheat. We did not ascertain what percentage of soapstone was used in a barrel of the mixture called flour.

Butter and sugar are adulterated in several different ways. Pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs and nearly all the spices are adulterated to a fearful extent. Some of these adulterations are poisonous, but certain dealers have no compunctions of conscience over small things like that. Every housewife knows that there is pure lard and adulterated lard. What has been said about the preceding articles of food is also true concerning nearly all the other manufactured food stuffs, such as baking powder, extracts of all kinds; also certain kinds of soap are cheapened by low grade chemicals to add to their odor and beauty of appearance.

Liquors and wines are adulterated to a fearful extent. A noted chemist found five kinds of poison in a certain beer he analyzed. A San Francisco chemist, who analyzed samples of the different kinds of wines used in that city, found that most of them were colored with dyes of the most poisonous character. He found that pieces of flannel and silk could be dyed by simply dipping them in samples of the wine.

Another kind of fraud is practiced in the manufacture of all kinds of wearing and household fabrics. Unreliable firms are constantly placing on the market inferior articles for the sole purpose of gaining to themselves a larger revenue; sometimes it pays and sometimes it does not pay, for it all depends upon how far a man can go before he is detected. Consider for a moment the character of footwear that is placed upon the market. See the enormous amount of waste just because the people have the privilege of buying cheap shoes. It costs almost as much in labor to make cheap shoes as to make good ones and therefore it costs much more for the poor family to buy three pairs of cheap shoes than one pair of good ones. Why are shoes made with paper soles and with shoddy leather? It is another trick of the manufacturer to gain a point in close bidding. Some will put the blame on the buyer, but the entire trouble is in the false system under which we are living.

The same facts are true concerning hosiery. The great bulk of children's hose that is put upon the market is not fit to leave the factory. It looks nice and has a clear stamp upon it, and is beautifully dyed, but the material is rotten and falls apart after very little wear. Of course, many a mother puts the blame upon the child. Under the reign of Christian Socialism, there would be no need of manufacturing rotten hosiery. It will cost no more for the making of good ones than poor ones, and the difference in material will be gladly furnished by an interested public.

This line of thought could be carried on indefinitely, until we would cover more than one-half of all the articles manufactured. The evils of adulteration and inferior manufacture are so great that every citizen ought to be aroused. Pure food laws have overcome much of the first evil, but what has been done and what can be done to overcome the second evil? As long as free competition is amongst us, we may expect to be annoyed, to a more or less extent, with the evils here mentioned.

IX.—THE TRAMP AND VAGRANT NUISANCE WILL BE ABOLISHED.

The army of tramps is the largest that ever moved on the face of the earth, and fortunately, it is organized only in small scattered companies that have their rendezvous in the outskirts of the cities. Under our present system, it is a very serious problem to know how to deal with this ever moving army of vagrants. Many suggestions have been made and theories advanced, and a number of ways have been tried to overcome the tramp evil. It must be admitted that the problem is far from being solved, and the tramps are still ever near our doors. In times of so called prosperity, the number is not so large; in times of panic the number naturally increases.

The evils that flow from the existence of this shiftless army are numerous. They are a menace to the highway traveler; a few of them estimate their own lives as of little value, and therefore, they are willing to take any risk to steal or plunder.

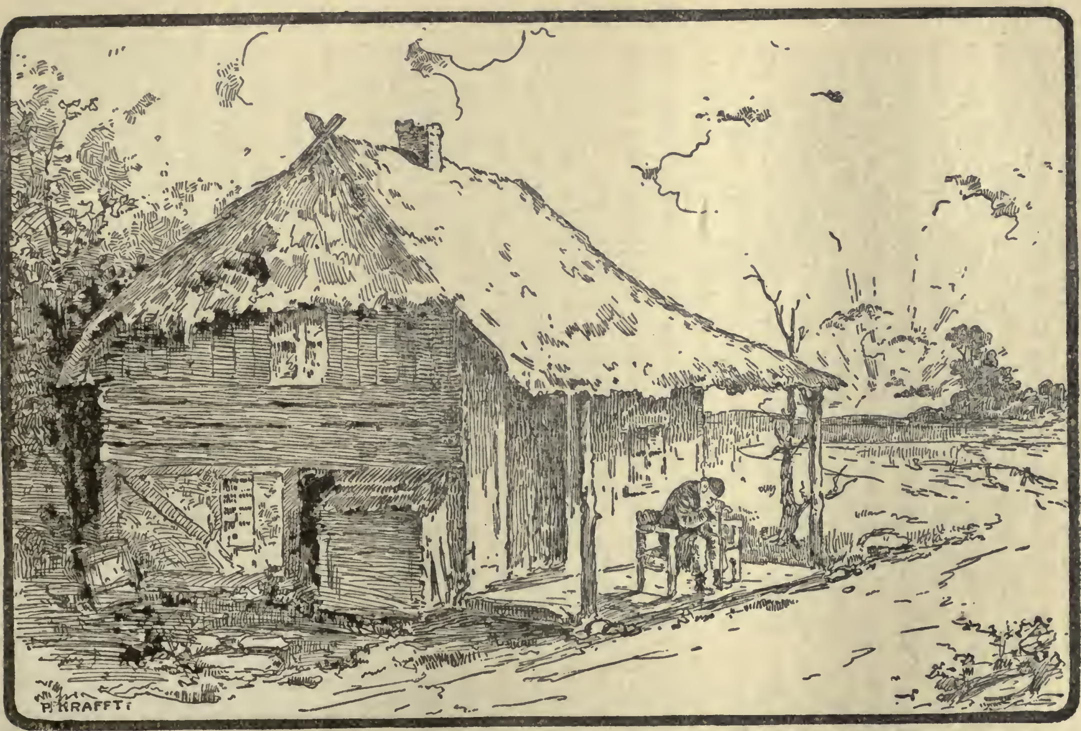
Under the reign of Christian Socialism, it will be just as illegal for a man to beg from door to door as for a man to steal from door to door; and if it should happen that a tramp would appear, he would be compelled to go either of two places—a hospital or a workshop, whichever place would best suit his condition. There will be no necessity for any man to beg, for the simple reason that every man, woman and child will be guaranteed the necessities of life, and any man who is able to work and tries to escape it, ought to be treated as a criminal, and everybody in all ranks of society should say Amen to this.

It will be a glorious deliverance for Society when several million evaders of work will be required to do their share to keep the wheels of industry going, and to supply themselves with the necessaries of life under a system that will provide fair returns for labor. The manner in which the public is imposed upon by a certain class of vagrants is astonishing. We know of one tramp, who, after reading of several miners being burned in an explosion, burned his own leg with acid and bandaged it. He then started to beg in a neighboring town, and people, having read of the accident, gladly helped the poor, unfortunate fellow. Similar cases of imposture could be cited by the hundred. Society can well draw a sigh of relief when our system of economics will be so adjusted that it will be ten-fold more difficult than now to play the part of a tramp or of an impostor. This will come when everybody is positively assured that no one is in need of private charity.

X.—THE AGED AND THE UNFORTUNATE WILL BE CARED FOR.

Under our present system, it is commendable that private and public charity has instituted so many homes for the aged and so many hospitals for the sick and injured; and yet, with all this provision, there is much humiliation and suffering among the afflicted which ought not to exist. How many an aged man or woman is working like a slave, and using the last remnant of his strength to gain a livelihood, just because he has no other means of support. This condition reveals to us one of the most barbarous aspects of our present civilization. Also think of the number of aged and infirm that are unwelcome at the home of a son-in-law or of a daughter-in-law, but who prefer to suffer this embarrassment rather than to go to the almshouse. Why is there such a dread of the almshouse? Anyone who has investigated this matter can easily answer the question. We remember some observations we made and some tales we heard that have been sufficient to create in our own hearts a living dread of the very place that should be sacredly managed by the state.

There are sometimes hundreds of persons in one of these institutions, and they are cared for by only a few attendants. It is indeed pitiful to see how some of these old people are treated just because there are not enough attendants to take care of them properly, and in some cases because there is a beastly heart at the

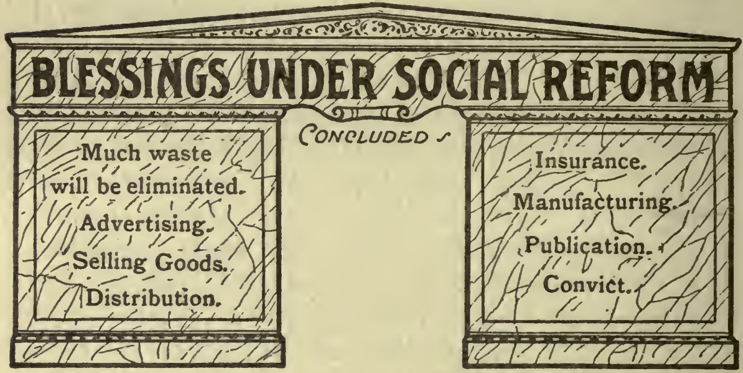


WAITING TO DIE.—This poor man is now unable to work and is compelled to ask admittance to the almshouse. He wishes a dozen times a day that he could die. Under co-operation our dear old people will be cared for.

head of the institution. We have heard from reliable sources of old people who had fallen out of bed at night, and were compelled to lie there over three hours before they received assistance; and we have heard of others who were beaten because they did not jump to the whims of the keepers; and then, the most shocking of all, it was the question for a long time at a certain poorhouse, where the bodies of the unclaimed dead were taken. The fact finally leaked out that these bodies, instead of being decently buried or cremated, were sent to the "vat" at a large medical college.

Just as pitiable is the condition of the unfortunate in affliction; those who are permanently crippled, the blind, the deaf, the sick and every other such class of human beings. Nothing but words of commendation should be spoken of the efforts that have been put forth by the state to alleviate the sufferings and improve the condition of these afflicted classes. Yet with all this there is no adequate provision made for the support of a crippled man and his family. Have you ever seen the bitter extremes of want and sorrow in the severe weather in these latitudes? Such suffering is all unnecessary, and under the reign of Christian Socialism it will be eliminated, for the helpless will be entitled to support the same as the worker. The expense required to support the helpless and the aged will fall upon Society in general, and each person will bear his equal share of this burden, and he will be surprised to see how light his share will be when that golden era comes. The aged men and women will go on their life-long vacation at the age of sixty or before. They will have earned by that time their rest. It is true enough that some people are more miserable when they are idle, than when they are working, but the time will never come when a man will be punished for working, so that if a person who is over sixty years of age prefers to work as a matter of pleasure, there will be no objections offered, and he will always live in the happy thought that when he cares no more to work, or is unable to work, there will be ample provision for his support and comfort.

CHAPTER XXIV.


BLESSINGS UNDER SOCIAL REFORM
Concluded
Much waste will be eliminated.
Advertising.
Selling Goods.
Distribution.
Insurance.
Manufacturing.
Publication.
Convict.

XI. MUCH WASTE WILL BE ELIMINATED.

Some one has said that nine-tenths of the energy exerted to-day is utterly wasted. No doubt this is exaggerated, but the estimate can be reduced considerably from nine-tenths and yet present a terrible condition to us. The present system of capitalism with its natural competition, produces more waste than one imagines. Even to him who studies the situation, only a part of this great waste is apparent. It is argued by some that unnecessary work is a blessing, because it gives employment to many who would be otherwise unemployed. We answer by saying that if we were to continue under our present system, the more waste we have, the better it is for our working people. If we could have ten newspapers in a town instead of three, it would be better because it would give employment to more people, and so we might say regarding any other kind of industry.

1.—The Waste of Advertising.

Has it ever dawned upon the mind of the reader what immense fortunes are squandered every year for advertising purposes. It is estimated that over 3,000,000 dollars a day is expended for advertising in the United States. The sad part is not that the money is wasted, but that the labor is wasted. Advertising as we see it in modern business methods is not one of the essentials of life; it is rather one of the black marks of our present industrial system. Under the fearful struggle of competition as we now have it, advertising is necessary, and therefore, between 500,000 and 1,000,000 men are working continually to produce nothing essential to our well-being. This great army of workmen is composed of "ad" writers, solicitors, collectors, paper manufacturers, bill posters, artists, lithographers and printers, to say nothing of the large numbers needed to run the necessary machinery for local and general transportation. You must think of this for a while before the greatness of the facts will dawn upon your mind. It requires no argument to prove that this great waste will be eliminated under the reign of true Socialism. The products will be made not for the purpose of private gain, but for the purpose of giving to each individual the best material that the world can produce. There will be no need of a thousand firms each declaring that its goods are the purest and the best; the government stamp of Social Reform on a manufactured article will be sufficient.

2.—The Waste of Selling Goods.

One more of the foolish results of competition is the immense amount of labor wasted in selling products. Each firm that manufactures goods must send out from a few to thousands of agents, consequently, we have a large number of drygoods agents, shoe agents, grocery agents, and numberless other kinds of agents swarming each community throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is amusing to certain grocers to witness the incoming of eight or nine agents in one forenoon. Each one of these men travels from place to place, and spends all his time in the mad rush to get ahead of the next fellow. Looking at the whole army of drummers, it presents one of the most expensive and yet necessary features of competition, and tells the story of waste that is very difficult to calculate. It is safe to say that there are 400,000 drummers uselessly employed, but, of course, all are necessary under our present nonsensical system.

3.—Waste of Distribution.

This opens to our view the large number of competitive industries, both small and great, and reveals one of the most fearful pictures of waste that can be imagined. In Boston there are about 350 drygoods stores, nearly 500 shoe stores, 1,500 grocery stores, and nearly 3,000 saloons, besides several thousand other places of business. Figure a moment and see what an immense amount of labor is expended to carry on the work of distributing goods to the people of Boston. Under Social Reform it would require no more than twenty-five, or less, general stores located to the best advantage geographically, to supply sufficiently every family of Boston. Any school boy is able to see that the labor of many thousands of people is required to do the work of distributing goods just because we blindly enjoy the system of competition. Take any large city, and we find that scores of milk wagons come into it, each one covering many miles of streets, and spending from three to nine hours a day to cover its route. Under Social Reform there would be needed about one-fifth as many vehicles or perhaps less, and each one would supply a certain district exclusively. This waste of labor in selling milk does not seem so great by itself, but it is only one instance of many similar ones coming under the head of distribution of goods, such as meat, laundry, ice and coal.

4.—The Waste in the Legal World.

There are now practicing in the United States nearly 100,000 lawyers, and nearly as many clerks, to carry on the work of the legal profession. We do not presume to say that all sin will be abolished under any kind of Social Reform, but we do wish to affirm that there will be much less crime under the new system of economics, when there will be no more vagrants or tramps and when many other curses have been changed into blessings. In that golden age lawyers will be the servants of the people the same as any other kind of workers, and it will not be to the advantage of a lawyer to win a case and thereby get a larger fee. Just how many lawyers will be required to carry on all necessary prosecution and trial is hard to say, but one thing is certain, the army can be cut down to a fraction of the present number.

5.—The Waste of Insurance.

Many fabulous fortunes are spent annually to maintain life, fire and accident insurance companies. We do not wish to disparage the good that is being done by these organizations. We only wish to say that it will be a happy day for society when all these organizations will be sleeping under their tombstone. They are the fifth wheel of the wagon, and, under proper economic conditions, just as needless as for a person to wear three shoes instead of two. Under true Social Reform, no man or his family will be in want. One of the first duties of society will be to give to every one the necessities of life, whether the head of the family is able to work or not, whether he is dead or alive. In one sense, society owes a living to each individual, but society should see to it that each person, able to work, will do his share to get it. So it shall happen when the new economic system is established, that the hundreds of thousands of men who are employed in all kinds of insurance companies will be engaged, less hours per day in one of the necessary channels of trade.

6.—THE WASTE OF COMPETITION IN MANUFACTURING.

It is estimated that the waste due to competition in manufacturing, both in duplication of plants and in methods of selling, is equal to ten per cent. of the product. This in round numbers would amount to $7,000,000 a day. It staggers one at first thought, and the mind is amazed as this truth dawns more fully upon it.

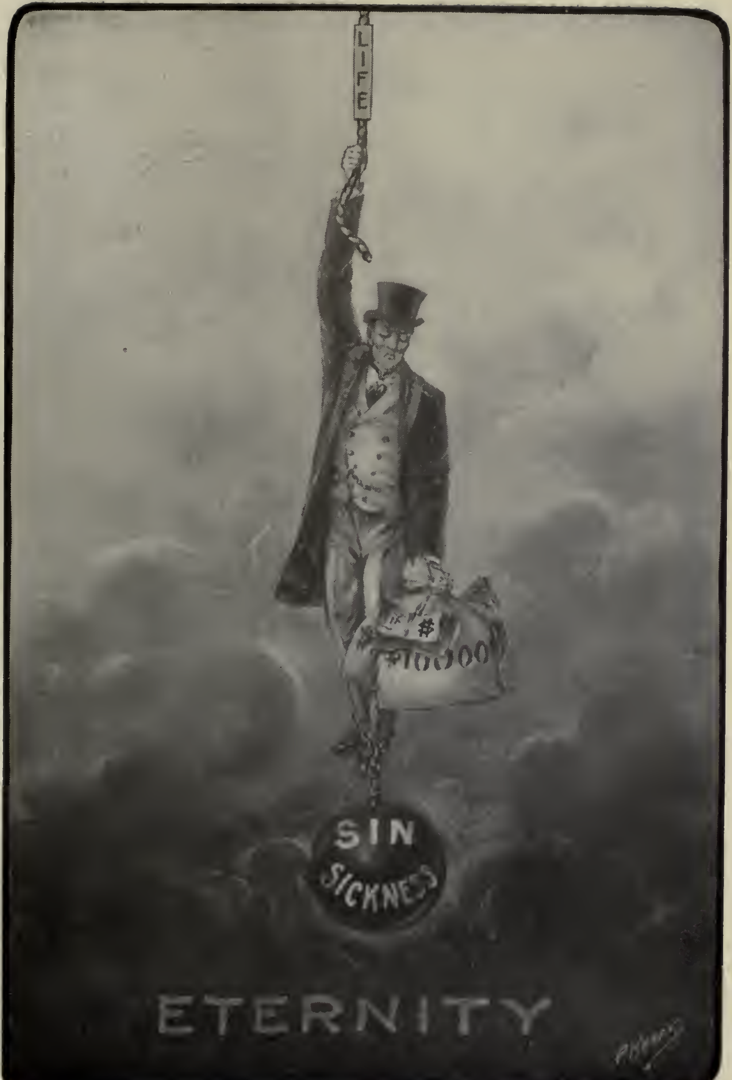
7.—CONVICT WASTE.

This is one more of the many senseless provisions of our present system of government. A man is arrested for crime, he is sentenced to jail or penitentiary, and the law-abiding citizens are supposed to clothe and feed him and keep him warm, and pay somebody to look after his needs. Under Social Reform convict labor will be a blessing, inasmuch as it will help to produce some of the very things that the people need, and thus bear its share of the burdens of a co-operative community. In that day, a man in the penitentiary will be required to work from eight to twelve hours a day; and he must work if he is able. This will be the kind of a place that men will go to who are guilty of crime, or who cannot be made to work properly otherwise. They will be put under the coercive work of public institutions. All this labor done by convicts will help to lighten the labor of every man who is not a convict. Does that not seem like a sensible proposition, or do you prefer to work a little harder and longer to keep the criminal without working? Take your choice.

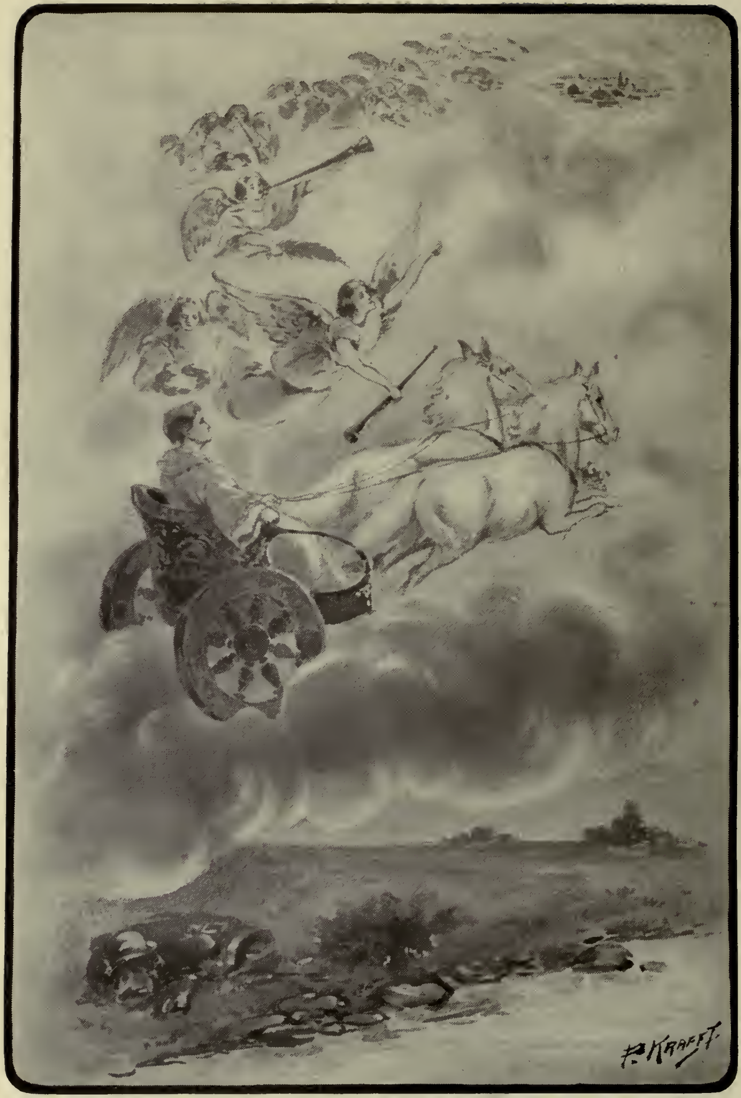
The foregoing seven kinds of waste are by no means all that might be mentioned. It is only a hint at the enormous loss under our present system. Take a picture of the whole country, and counting labor at a reasonable value, the total amount of all our waste under the present system, aggregates the enormous sum of nearly $50,000,000 a day. Do not doubt these figures until you have looked into the matter carefully. The longer you study and investigate, the more rapidly you will find your figures mounting up to the $50,000,000 mark, and if you are a capitalist, you will soon stop your figuring in the fear that your discovery will take you beyond the above estimate.

What is the meaning of the $50,000,000 a day waste? It means that the workers must bind themselves down to slavery in order that this great waste may be maintained; in other words, we are called upon to labor the same now as the penitentiary convicts will be called upon to labor under the reign of Social Reform.

Do you wish to enter into the full enjoyment of the liberties that ought to be yours? Then break away from the chains that bind you and express yourself where it will count the most—at the ballot box in a true municipal reform movement or in any national movement that seeks the same ends.

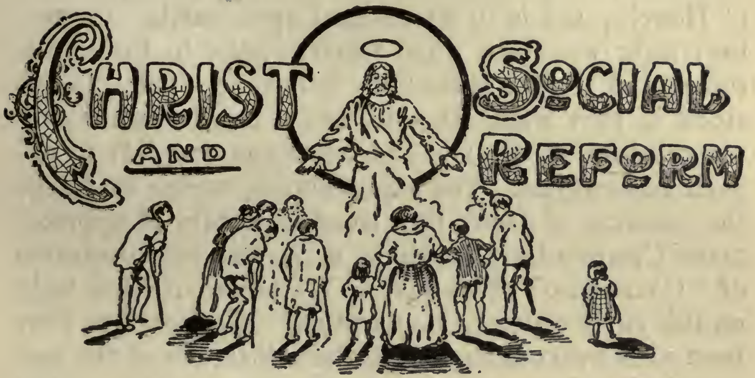

LIFE
$
$10000
SIN
SICKNESS
ETERNITY

The Death of the Rich Sinner.—The curse of riches is seen when a man will cling to them with a dying grip. The rich sinner has a burden of sin and sometimes sickness which he will not, or cannot, shake off.



THE DEATH OF THE POOR CHRISTIAN.—The honest man, poor or rich, at death will leave all his burdens behind, and instead of having weights to drag him down, there will be angels in a chariot to lift him upward.

CHAPTER XXV.



After being preached and worshipped for almost twenty centuries, the most misinterpreted character in the world to-day is Jesus Christ. He was born in an obscure corner of the earth, yet a guiding star and heavenly choirs honored His birth. Christ was reared in holiness, and in the fullness of time His great forerunner, John the Baptist, proclaimed His coming. Suddenly He appeared and blazed forth with a new light and life, and made such a mighty impression that all human time was numbered anew from His birth. He taught for all ages, and it will require all the ages to show His completeness. By some He is worshipped as a religious teacher only; by others He is looked upon as the world's Redeemer, a personal Savior, as a "friend that sticketh closer than a brother;" and still by others as a guiding star to the world's peace, —not only religious but civil and industrial peace as well.

The idea of pure Socialism is a divine thought born of Heaven, and is to be realized upon earth. Its earliest light was seen when Christ spake to the multitudes, and to His immediate followers. They understood in part what He said, but a more complete interpretation of His life and teachings was left to unborn generations. The early church, trying to follow the teaching of Jesus, first lived in a state of approximate Communism, which is a partial interpretation of "Communion of Saints." We have but little light on this early type of Co-operation. It appears to have been soon overwhelmed with the selfishness of the age, even before human society had a chance to try or test the early Christian Socialism. The sad growth of competition, and the thorny vines of human greed soon over-ran the fair garden of promise until the life of the Heavenly plant was choked out by these noxious weeds. Thus was the second Eden lost, and those who were to occupy it, were thrown out upon the wild waste of a barren Social life, and ever since that time, the church and the world have been mutually suffering under the grinding processes of hard labor, and as a result, the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer.

Will the dream of human brotherhood ever be realized upon earth? This is a practical question, and is waiting for an answer in the world and the church of to-day. One of the strangest aspects of the Twentieth Century will be the rallying from the ranks of the church and the world under the banners of Christian Socialism, and this will bring to the earth the greatest industrial peace, rest and contentment that has ever been known.

Let us draw back the curtain of ages and look carefully at that marvelous light and then ask: "What are the principles of the perfect Social State as taught by Christ, the world's greatest reformer and spiritual leader?"

1.—Christ Taught That Selfishness is Death.

Christ said, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it." He embodied a world of thought in these few words. All man's effort for himself will fail unless he is planning and working in harmony with the will of God. The way of selfishness is one of the shortest roads to destruction, and he who narrows his life to winning his own personal ends, is not only a loser, but he is even committing personal suicide.

Selfishness is the ruling principle in all the natural and business life of the world. Nearly everything is based upon each one looking after his own interests. All this is a natural concomitant of our Social system, and will only be eliminated when the better laws of Social Reform are in force.

2.—Christ Taught That Unselfishness and Benevolence are Blessed.

The dangers of life lie along the line of selfishness, and a man is not as likely to give away too much as he is to keep too much. For that reason Christ made no mistake when he promised a blessing to the liberal-hearted man. How few people there are who will appear truly benovelent when we have an opportunity to study the motive back of their gifts. In some cases we can see that the giver is expecting something in return; and again we see that others are seeking notoriety or personal glory; while very few have as their chief aim the glory of God or the good of their fellows. For that reason Christ taught the superior virtue of expecting nothing in return when we give to the poor. He said at one place, "Sell that ye have and give alms." The world has found more fault with this passage than it has with the other, which is a maxim of the world, "Get all you can and keep it." Our hearts should be so trained in love that we could give testimony to the truth, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." There will be no danger of society going to *smash* if these beautiful maxims of truth are observed. If the spirit to obey these superior laws were manifested, there would also be present an opportunity for everybody to earn a respectable living; for love, when it flows on the one side, will also operate on the other.

Christ said, "Whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it." This means that no man takes a risk when he apparently loses for Christ. The man who, with a pure motive, makes a great sacrifice for Christ and truth, will only make himself richer in the life to come, and the man who lays down his life, or risks his life in the service of Christ, shall also win a greater reward in the life to come. When Livingstone and Stanley left civilization with its joys and advantages and buried themselves in the jungles of

Africa, they found that their apparent loss only worked for their great gain. They came out to find that they were esteemed as the world's heroes, and that the nations were waiting to crown them as no men were ever crowned who have not laid down their lives for others. Such blessings always follow true unselfishness and liberality. Every true sacrifice finds its reward either in this life or the life to come.

How much good could be accomplished by the deceived men of wealth, if they would but devote their fortunes to the uplifting of society instead of the uplifting of themselves and possibly the destruction of their own heirs.

3.—Christ Taught That Life Has Worthier Aims Than Wealth.

When Christ said, "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth," He made a declaration for all time. To the man of the world, this thought is, indeed, a revelation, just as new to him now as it was to the people almost twenty centuries ago. Our present system of competition pushes all forward in the mad race to grab all they can. If any man of fair judgment will interpret this wild rush of our business life, what will his verdict be? Must he not decide that the people are acting directly contrary to the teachings of Christ? They are acting as if their life did consist in the abundance of the things which they possess, or would like to possess.

How long will it take the world to wake up to the lofty conception of Christ, that the nobler things in life are more worthy of our attainment than the mere things that perish and decay sometimes even with the use of them? When Social Reform comes, the world will have more chance to take a breath, and give more attention to the voice of God. When men can once be convinced that they need not give their body, soul and spirit for the support of themselves and their families, and that they need not be compelled to lay up for a "rainy day," then there will be more opportunity for people to see that it is possible to be rich without gold, and happy without much material possession.

4.—Christ Forbids the Hoarding of Wealth.

"Lay not up for yourselves treasure on earth." This is a very direct command and indicates very clearly that wealth is not to be centered in the hands of a few. Such declarations like this are very obnoxious to the rich, and to those whose principle aim is to become rich. At many places Christ draws sharp contrasts between the rich and the poor.

"Blessed be ye poor for your's is the Kingdom of God."	"Woe unto you that are rich."
"Blessed are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled."	"Woe unto you that are full; for ye shall hunger."

Christ also said, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor.'' Just how much property it is possible for a man to hold in His name, and yet be poor within the meaning of Christ, is very difficult to determine. Christ was the most fearless teacher that ever lived. He knew that no power on earth could destroy Him, and that He had a home eternal in the Heavens, and therefore, He spake without holding any bribe in His hand. He offered no apology to the worshippers of the ''Mammon of unrighteousness.'' He saw that riches were destructive, and not fearing the comment of all ages to come, He told the rich young ruler, ''Wouldst thou be perfect, sell that thou hast and give to the poor.''

There are certain passages in the New Testament that make reference to the rich and the poor in an indirect way, and certain men of wealth have taken these to mean that riches are sanctioned by Christ. This is an absurd interpretation of Scripture, and while we will not be extreme enough to say that all rich people are wicked people, yet we will be plain enough to say that it is difficult for a person to have and to hold great riches, and, at the same time, comply with the simple and plain teachings of Jesus Christ. His teachings strike a terrific blow at Capitalism. The saddest part of the whole story is that the selfish hoarder of wealth will see, when it is too late, that he has been blinded by the sophistry of Satan. His eyes will be opened to see his own folly when he stands before God to give an account of his stewardship in the body. Neither is the poor man exempt from these laws. If the principle of the poor man is wrong, and he is poor just because he cannot be rich, he is also deceived. He has been climbing, or trying to climb up the wrong path, and to him the sting of the final judgment will come with the same intensity as it will come to the miserly rich man. There is only one way to follow these beautiful sociological laws. A man must be right at heart, and he must see and believe the great truth that his soul is immortal and is greater than anything he can possibly possess; and his life must correspond with this belief. By so doing, he rises above his surroundings and he becomes a power in transforming the deadness of this wicked world into the living beauty that God intended it should be.

The influence of Satan is seen in the spirit of the world to-day, and the whole outcome of the mad struggle tells the story that the great majority of people think that it is more blessed to receive than to give, thereby reversing the direct teaching of Christ. When Social Reform has won its day, then all people will know better the meaning of these beautiful laws, and until then, only such will know as are living in the glory of them.

5.—Christ Denounced the Spirit of Modern Competition.

Paul, writing as an interpreter of Christ, says: "Let nothing be done through strife or vain-glory." Christ directly demands: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods, nor anything that is thy neighbor's." The monopolies have grown fat on the fruits of covetousness. They start to covet what the small firms possess, and, notwithstanding all the protest that can be offered, they force them to either sell or quit business. All this is for the purpose of their own enrichment, and they can go ahead, for our civil law is miserably ineffective. The condition of present day society makes it about as hard as possible for people to obey the law of not coveting. The law fosters and permits the most unjust inequalities, and therefore, the greatest incentive to temptation is at hand.

Christ came to minister to the two parts of man's nature—to the spiritual and to the social. To the one he set the fittest models and ideals, demanding and lovingly requesting that every man should live up to them, and thereby bring his soul into harmony with divine conditions through repentance and faith. This is the casting off of sin and sinfulness, and taking on the life of righteousness with all that this word comprehends. Christ himself set the lofty example of the sinless life, by taking the eminence himself, whence he invited all the struggling world below Him. "Come unto me," He called, until the ear of the common people heard him gladly.

This represents one part of Christ's teaching, but there is another part that ought not to be overlooked. It is just as clearly a part of His whole truth and doctrine as the former, and that is His teaching that man as a social creature in relation to his fellowman shall live on the plane of co-operative love. We have given a few of these teachings as they relate to the social world, and is it not sad that the world refuses to hear or obey them? And even the church in large part is refusing to recognize these forcible laws regarding the economic life.

6.—Christ Clearly Teaches the Spirit of Co-operation.

Read these beautiful passages gathered from the book of inspiration: "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ." "Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbor's good." "No man liveth to himself." "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "Do unto others as you would that others do unto you."

It is not hard for a man to make a Golden Rule for himself, or one that will apply to himself and his friend, but to formulate a law that will stand for all time, and that will meet all conditions of human society, was left alone for Heaven to reveal to men.

Take an honest view of human society as we see it to-day, and we cannot find, in the business or social realms, any kind of obedience to the beautiful laws of Christ that teach the spirit of Co-operation. The more you study the spirit that pervades society in general, the more you are convinced that the controlling motto is; "Do others, or they will do you," or, as some prefer to put it, "Do others *before* they do you." It is to be regretted that such a spirit should so largely dominate the business activities of the present age.

Another similar thought of Co-operation flowing from the teachings of Christ is that "Love seeketh not her own." Nobody is able to interpret such a lofty declaration unless he is filled with the spirit of the same love referred to in the passage. There are not a few of the human family who open their ears to hear the angel like story of pure love, and by so doing, they gather to themselves wings to soar above the cruel field of industrial warfare and breathe the atmosphere created for human souls. Gold will not perish in the refining fire, neither will true love. It will stand the test under any strain, and will ever reach out after the one beloved, encircling even the field of enemies. The narrow-minded world thinks it an act of folly to follow this beautiful teaching, but he who has proved the power and beauty of this law will cling to it with undying devotion.

7.—Christ Teaches Us Not to Worry Over Temporal Needs.

'Take, therefore, no thought, saying what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed. But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you.''

Christ contemplated a state of Society in which no one would be required to take thought for food or raiment, or to lay up treasure for a rainy day. Christ knew that in order to have this state of Society, it would require not only a religious but an economic change. The sceptics of civil government tell us that it would be impossible to form a commonwealth that would take away the necessity of worry. Perhaps all human concern can never be totally eliminated, and indeed it never should be, but it is possible, under the reign of Social Reform, for every man, woman and child to be absolutely certain that they shall have enough to eat and wear, provided the earth can produce enough to feed and clothe all the people. This will be accomplished under Social Reform, if each member of society will give his natural share of labor, which, indeed, would not be more than four or six hours a day. Would it not be far better for everybody to work a few hours a day and realize that he has earned what he eats and wears and the luxuries he enjoys, than for the great bulk of people to work like slaves and a small part scheme like demons in order to secure the largest possible share of the product of the toiler's labor.

8.—Christ Condemned Extortioners and Speculators.

"My house shall be called by all nations the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves." Why does He call them thieves? Simply because the money changers took advantages of the people who came in from other countries. These visitors could not buy until they received current money, and these grafters of the Temple either charged too much for the exchange of money, or placed an exorbitant price on the doves and sacrificial animals. Christ became righteously indignant at these speculators. "If Christ lashed these speculating extortioners out of His Father's temple with knotted rope, what will He do to their descendants when, in the day of His Power, He deals with all who have been corrupting Society falsely in His name?" We read also at another place, "Ye laden men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers." How applicable is this description to many of our modern capitalists. Christ speaks out in his unmistakable clearness to such: "Woe unto you," and this comprehends all classes of men and women who take advantage of others, and are thereby enabled to roll in idle luxury at the expense of the grievous toil of others.

The world imagines that the great Co-operative principles of Christ are only suitable for some ideal Utopia, and altogether unfit for our every day life, and the church has partly accepted this error. Truth will vindicate itself in the process of time, and it will be found that these principles laid down in the previous pages are well fitted to the needs of Society. They will surely work to the highest ends of the individual and to the best good of everybody.

We search in vain through all the realm of literature to find such great laws that supplement and complement each other as beautifully and practically as the foregoing Co-operative Social laws of Christ. They give the only safe recipe to cure the ills that have been caused by the war between Labor and Capital.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HOW TO GET SOCIAL REFORM

We have seen what great blessings will come to Society when the kingdom of Christian Socialism or Heaven on Earth is established, but as to the best method of establishing this kingdom, there is a wide difference of opinion. We shall not spend our time in theoretical vaporizing and indefinite juggling of words, trying to give a solution of this problem, but we will be plain and practical in our statements, so that any sincere reader can easily understand our position.

I.—WILL WE GET SOCIAL REFORM THROUGH THE CHURCH?

There are not a few who believe that the Christian Church is the only true medium through which all reform measures must be accomplished. Such persons do not properly distinguish between the functions of the church and those of the state. It is true that the church has wrought wonders in uplifting humanity and in originating and carrying forward great moral and spiritual movements. No doubt this work of the church will continue until time shall be no more; but we must never forget that the church works through the medium of persuasion and love and not by civil force. The church can prepare the hearts and consciences of the people to act rightly, but when we want new regulations to govern Society we must enter the political arena as well as the church door. The laws that govern civil life are not framed by ecclesiastical bodies. It is easy for a man to stand aloof from the church and to say that if Christians did their duty, Social Reform would soon be a reality. But the man who throws all responsibility and blame on the church and refuses to co-operate with it, is one of the meanest of all men living and is a self-contradiction. We are all thankful that the day is past when the church exercises civil authority over the people. It has no policemen or constables to push its campaign, and, if it cannot win by the power of love and conscience, its arms are powerless to save the lost, whether they are rich or poor.

We find two extreme opinions regarding the church on this question. The Christian optimist cries out; "Keep on preaching and praying and singing, and changing the hearts of men, and in God's own good time all the wrongs of earth will be righted." And the pessimist cries out: "You may as well shut up your churches, stop your singing and praying, because everything is going to the dogs. The world will keep on getting worse and worse until some great revolution brings about a change."

Looking at these two extreme views, we cannot safely accept either one of them, nor should we be led by their radical teaching. The most intelligent of ungodly men declare, with a deep sincerity of heart, that for the public good we must maintain the Christian churches. There are men who will not attend any Christian service, who would be shocked if they were to learn that the churches were to be abandoned. It does not require a very shrewd man to see of what great value the Christian Church is to the civil life of a nation, to say nothing of the greater advantages that follow in the individual life of its people.

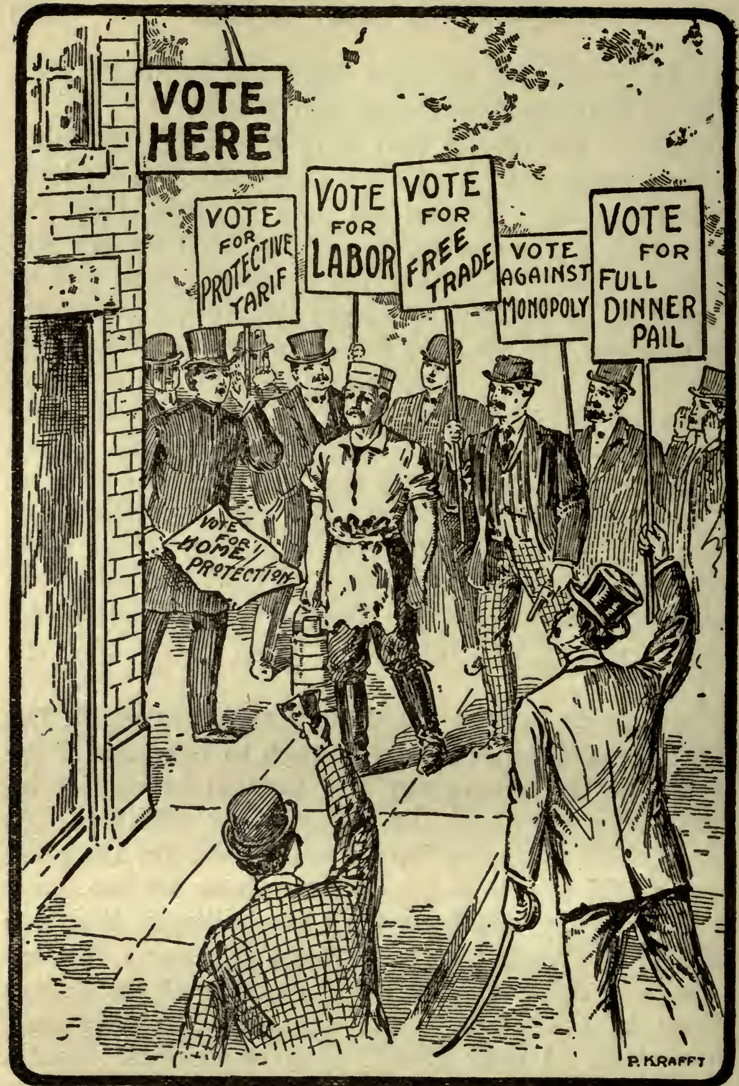
The church with all of its weaknesses and good qualities will no doubt continue to do its work of uplifting men by the power of truth. But how long will it take the church, with its peculiar weapons of love, to change the present conditions of human Society to such an extent that there will be no more strife or contention between Capital and Labor? Who knows the answer to this question? Under the circumstances it is plainly evident that both the Christian and non-Christian laborers are not willing to wait for the uncertain and indefinite accomplishment of this work by the church, or in other words through the processes of moral and spiritual evolution alone.

II.—WILL WE GET SOCIAL REFORM THROUGH POLITICS?

We believe that the last and most effective blow against Capitalism will be given at the ballot box. When the new liberty is established for all classes through politics, then the emancipation proclamation will be proclaimed to more than four million slaves. What a glorious deliverance that will be.

Some of the efforts that have been made by labor organizations have been very successful; others have been bungling. Taking all into consideration the labor unions are coming to see that final victory will never be won by following the present tactics, and by depending on nothing else than the work of their organizations. So we send the cry over the whole land, "Go into Politics." This can be done by the members of organized Labor without dragging the unions into the political arena. The working men should not be persuaded to give up what they have for the promise of something still better farther off. Let the labor unions go on, but let the men unite and obtain their rights at the polls. The power of the ballot is so far reaching that no one can predict what a wonderful transformation will take place when Labor wins the day.

That great sainted American pulpit orator, T. Dewitt Talmage, had courage enough to recommend the ballot box as a cure for our present industrial inequalities. We quote the following: "While in this country it is becoming harder and harder for the great mass of the people to get a living, there are too many in this country who have their two millions, their ten millions and their twenty millions, and carry the legislators in one pocket and the congress of the United States in the other. And there is trouble ahead. Revolution. I pray God it may be peaceful revolution, and at the ballot box. The time must come in this country when men shall be sent into public position who cannot be purchased. * * *


VOTE HERE
VOTE FOR PROTECTIVE TARIF
VOTE FOR LABOR
VOTE FOR FREE TRADE
VOTE AGAINST MONOPOLY
VOTE FOR FULL DINNER PAIL
VOTE FOR HOME PROTECTION
P. KRAFFT

THE VOTER.—Look at the common worker who wishes to vote intelligently. The very jangling of voices is confusing and is ever dividing the workers into parties that fight each other. Final deliverance must come through a separate political party.

"Bribery is cursing this land. There have been swindles enacted in this nation within the last thirty years, enough to swamp three monarchies. The Democratic party filled its cup of iniquity before it went out of power before the war. Then the Republican party came along, and its opportunities through the contracts were greater, and so it filled its cup of iniquity a little sooner, and there they lie to-day, the Democratic party and the Republican party, side by side, great loathsome carcasses of iniquity, each one worse than the other."

III.—STEPPING-STONES TO REACH SOCIAL REFORM.

All great reforms in the history of the world have been gradual. Feudalism dawned gradually, and so it passed away gradually, giving place to our present wage and contract system, and we are quite certain that the present system will finally give way to the state of Social Reform. One of the sure stepping-stones is Municipal Ownership, and such movements as tend to place public franchises in the hands of the community. Let the people everywhere use these stepping-stones, and whenever it is possible to create local sentiment strong enough to wrest the gas works, water works and street railways from private control, it ought to be done, even if the ballot box must be brought into play. Nothing will educate the people to the benefits that come through public ownership as rapidly as actual experience. Suppose the people of a community should get control of its street-car lines, and the fare should be reduced from five to three cents, that would have a more telling effect than two or more years of scattering literature. There is no doubt but that the usual fare of five cents could be reduced to three cents, and all expenses would be met, and then many people could afford to ride who cannot now. Private ownership is growing fat on this enormous dividend of forty per cent., or more, that it is grasping from the public.

The tide of Municipal Ownership is rising very rapidly, and, as we have said before, large numbers of cities have taken possession of their public utilities, such as electric lighting, street-car lines, etc. Perhaps a movement will soon be inaugurated to nationalize some of our transportation or transmission mediums. Let us work for such measures with all our might; they are steps in the right direction, and by adopting such public ownership measures, we will introduce the great principles of Social Reform gradually, and Society will not be disturbed as otherwise it would.

There are many other stepping-stones that must not be forgotten. Whenever we have an opportunity of lessening the burdens of the laboring man in any way whatever we should be glad to do it. Perhaps we can lend our influence to reduce the number of hours that constitute a day's work, or the increase of wages: It may be that sentiment can be awakened sufficiently in some communities to compel the corporations to give greater protection to their employees against accidents, sickness, and loss of time. We may also be able to inaugurate a pension movement, which will mean that a person who has reached sixty or seventy years of age, shall receive a pension from his employers, the amount of the pension to be regulated by the number of years of service the employee has rendered. And so we might continue one suggestion after another without limit. Any such measures that tend to elevate the condition of the worker should be attempted if possible, until the golden era of Social Reform has dawned upon us.

State and National Ownership are the last great forts to win, and as fast as either can assume control of any industry, it ought to be done. Some years ago the Postmaster General of the United States recommended National Ownership of the telegraph and telephone in connection with the postal system. This was a business-like proposition, and one of the most sensible suggestions ever made. Why was it not adopted? Go and ask the thousands of men who were piling up fortunes from these private enterprises. Perhaps they can give you an answer. It only takes the profit that the railroads and telegraph companies make in one week to buy up enough influence to defeat any sensible proposition like this. You must not be too severe on these Capitalists; they simply take steps for their own protection just like many smaller business men take steps for their protection. If any such business man could make a thousand dollars by spending fifty, no doubt he would do it. This does not argue that bribing, or any other such low method is right.

Enemies, both sincere and conscienceless, are constantly misrepresenting the Social Reform movement by picking out the apparent and theoretical flaws and magnifying them a hundredfold before the public. They also try to drag the cause of Social Reform to the low level of the Anarchy, and by this method of prejudicing many minds they have blocked the wheels of progress to some extent; but slander and calumny cannot always shut out the light. Behold, the workers are rising to claim their throne, and they will gladly throw off their chains when once the angel of deliverance is truly recognized.

We now come to a very natural question and that is: "Suppose the cause of Social Reform would win at the ballot box in a national election, how could we get possession of our industries?" We have no objections to anyone asking such a question, for it is perfectly in order to look that far ahead. No doubt the time will soon come when sufficient public sentiment will be created to push the political fight victoriously. The widespread feeling of dicontent, and the endless amount of agitation in numberless communities throughout the nation, all betoken the general uprising that is inevitable.

The following chapter will consider how the industries of our nation can be rightfully taken from their private owners, and be the property of all the people under the mighty grip of National Ownership and control.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HOW TO GET POSSESSION OF OUR INDUSTRIES

Public sentiment is being created so rapidly in favor of Municipal and National Ownership that it will not be long until the majority of the voters in many sections of our country will be in favor of the new economic administration. There are many municipalities now in which there is enough sentiment created to win on a Municipal Ownership platform, if a fair chance were given to the people to express themselves on this issue. The final victory is, nevertheless inevitable, and knowing the facts as we do, a pointed question naturally arises, "How will the nation get possession of our vast industries after the people declare that the new order of economics shall go into effect?" It requires ten-fold more pains and trouble now for the people to understand how this will be done, than it will require when we stand at the threshold of the new and golden period.

We will outline several distinct methods by which the nation can honorably come into possession of all our industries or as many of them as may be desirable. We have studied this phase of the question with considerable care, and have profited by the suggestions of other writers. We will now present and discuss the following four methods that form the most complete condensation of all the theories advanced.

1. Bond-Issue Method.
2. Freezing-Out Method.
3. Public Seizure Method.
4. Privilege Method.

All that we ask of the reader is that he give careful consideration to the reading and studying of these four methods, and, while we do not recommend all of them, yet we can say that any one of them is practical.

I.—BOND-ISSUE METHOD.

This method is recommended as the most honorable of all. It proposes that the government shall take possession of all the industries to hold and manage them for the benefit of all the people. It would be impossible to pay cash for such a fabulous aggregation of millions as are represented by the value of our widely extended industries. Therefore the government, in case of purchase, would issue bonds to the owners and would be in a position to dictate its own price, and would not be controlled by watered stock or any other kind of inflated values which so much misrepresent real values, and disgrace the management of large corporate interests of to-day. Without a question the government would have the advantage, and it would pay whatever percentage on these bonds it might deem advisable for the permanency and well-being of the whole nation. No rich man need tremble in the day of national reckoning, for all things will be taken into account when the government compels a sale and offers to be the purchaser.

Now we hear one critic coming forward with his interrogation as follows: "Would it be just for the government to dictate terms of a sale and then become the purchaser?" If the critic who asks this question, will study the history of Trusts and Monopolies in this country during the past fifty years, he will find that they have manifested the most cruel and merciless spirit of arbitrary independence. These heartless and soulless corporations have been dictating to the smaller dealers and to the American people in general just how they should conduct their affairs, and what prices they should pay for certain useful and necessary commodities. Let us in return ask this critic, "Have these things been right? What has enabled a few men of our nation to gather to themselves such untold wealth?" It has resulted from the capability to dictate terms and prices to those who were compelled to buy or sell. The ungenerous spirit of modern competition has destroyed the business and blighted the hopes of many small competitors, and has heaped upon the poor laborer a burden that has ever been increasing, until, under the intolerable load, he is now groaning, sighing and praying for the relief which must come.

Suppose the time were here when we were to enjoy the blessings of National Ownership and management of our industries, and the Bond-Issue method would be adopted; and, as a consequence, the government would dictate to the Trusts and Monopolies the terms of sale and purchase, it would only be the same flavor of business dealing that these same Trusts and Monopolies have been using for their own aggrandizement, only in the first instance it is fashionable robbery and in the second it is re-adjustment for public good. The great bulk of those who are wealthy would be getting a taste of the same dealing that they themselves practised in order to heap up riches. Uncle Sam, representing all the people of the nation, would then be the great Trust and Monopoly who would stand on the glorious throne of national strength and dictate to all the now great and mighty Monopolists the terms of sale. Then would the great mass of people, including many of the rich, cry out Amen! and this shout of approval would be heard from sea to sea and from the lakes to the gulf. When the people begin to realize the benefits of the new industrial order, millions of them will wonder how it was possible that so large a company of human beings could have been persuaded to run the fool's errand so long.

Another objector comes to the front and asks how the nation can ever pay so great a debt as would be created by the purchase of all the industries? We answer by saying that the people have already paid over and over many times for the actual value of all the Trust and Monopoly property in our country, and it will not be very difficult to pay for them once more, and then own them for themselves. If the government become handicapped in any way whatever, it will simply do with these bonds just what the Monopolists do to the people—it will cut down expenses. The government will be careful that it places upon itself no heavier burden that it can easily bear.

We do not say that we favor this method for it is faulty in several respects; but if it should be adopted, the wealthy can count themselves fortunate that the patient endurance of a suffering public has not taken more rash measures, such as shall be considered a little later in this chapter.

Many other questions might be asked concerning the Bond-Issue method. One might refer to the nature of the bond, whether it should be transferable or not. Another question could relate to the time limit of the bond, and so many other questions of similar import might be advanced, but it is unnecessary within the scope of this volume to enter into all these details. We do not fear the outcome, if public ownership once becomes a reality. All these matters will be fully adjusted, and the working machinery of the new industrial kingdom will be as harmonious as can well be expected while Satan is in the world and his imps are trying to master it.

II.—FREEZING-OUT METHOD.

This method has been called by some writers the "Competition Method," and is advocated by some as the best of all. If the Freezing-Out Method were adopted in order to get possession of our industries, it would mean that the government would enter into business in competition with the individuals or corporations that have already established themselves. Let us take for example the sugar business. The government would organize a Sugar Monopoly of its own, and by its superior advantages it could easily legislate in its own favor, just like so many Trusts have bought legislation in their favor. In a short time Uncle Sam would have his grip on the entire sugar industry, and those powerful Monopolists that now control the whole business would be compelled to surrender, sell to the government, or suffer the inevitable squeeze that would follow upon their refusal to do either. In this way Uncle Sam could freeze out all the great Corporations and Trusts that now regulate the business interests of the nation. This would also be a case of dealing out to the Monopolists the same kind of medicine that the Monopolists have been dealing out to others in the past. There is no question as to government being able to compete successfully with the Trusts and Monopolists in the country.

There are many who will clap their hands in favor of this method when it is proposed to them, without pausing to think that it is one of the most foolish and wasteful measures that could be proposed. Consider for a moment the railroad phase of the question. It would be absurd for the government to commence to build a system of railroads of its own across the continent just for the purpose of freezing out the railroad corporations or of compelling them to offer their property at a sacrifice price. The Bond-Issue method would be far superior and more honorable than this method.

The same evil result would follow if the competition method would be adopted in other lines of industry, and all this proves that it is an undesirable method to gain the end desired. As far as we have considered, we would prefer the Bond-Issue method to the Freezing-Out or "Competition Method."

Suppose a railroad would show fight against the government, and the government would be compelled to handicap the railroad by legislation; that would be worse than confiscation, for it would be taking the entire value of all the railroad lines away from their owners. It would be far better for the government to purchase all the railways in the country, and organize one harmonious system, and abandon all useless lines and all unnecessary duplication of tracks, and then add railways where it might be less profitable but more convenient for the people; just like the government does in the mail service which has proved to be one of the strongest features of a public ownership policy. We have thousands of mail routes that are run at a loss, but see what great service the people get in the rural districts. The highly profitable centers help to pay for these less profitable routes; and so in regard to railways; we would have our railways distributed to accommodate the needs of the whole nation.

III.—PUBLIC SEIZURE METHOD.

The name of this method alone will indicate the nature of it. Being interpreted it means that the government would simply take possession of all the industries to own and manage them for the benefit of all the people, just as the postoffice is owned and managed for all the people. Certain enemies have brought ridicule upon Social Reform by declaring that public ownership means that everybody's wealth should be put together in one pile and each individual get an equal share of it. This is worse than nonsense, and any sensible person does not believe that the students of Social Reform advocate such a doctrine. The Public Seizure method implies that all the industries shall become the property of all the people and that all the people will be employed by the government to run these industries. Let us refer once more to the postoffice system. Is it not true that the government owns the entire postoffice department, and thereby it is owned by all the people? But who would argue that in order for the people to get the benefit of the postoffice system that all the postoffices, mail boxes and mail bags must be sold and the money divided equally amongst the people? Any ordinary person outside of an insane asylum knows that this is not necessary. The only way is for the postoffice to continue as it is now established.

The Public Seizure policy of getting possession of our industries is certainly a radical measure, and savors of insurrection and dishonesty; yet it would be adopting the same course as is pursued by a victorious army marching through the conquered land and taking whatever it wished to have; and, in fact taking possession of the whole land in the name of the government for which its soldiers are fighting. The history of the world is replete with instances of the policy, "To the victor belong the spoils." Is it right or is it wrong for the victorious forces to take possession of the whole country they have captured? We answer in some cases it is right, and in other cases it is wrong; it depends altogether upon the issue of the conflict, and not upon the dominance of brute forces. Was it right for the thirteen American colonies to fight for independence, and, winning in the severe struggle, confiscate to themselves millions of acres of land that now represent billions of wealth? Was it right for them to take possession of this territory just because they were strong enough to do it? The majority of the world will answer that it was all right just because the early colonists were suffering unreasonable and intolerable burdens, and they had a perfect right to free themselves from the imposition that was practised upon them. So we might argue concerning many of the conflicts of the world and many of the changing aspects of national life and territory.

The question that now comes to the front in this part of our chapter is a very serious one. Would it be right for a burdened public, overtaxed all their lifetime by cruel and merciless corporations, whipped to the severest tasks under the cruel necessities of modern life, bruised and mangled by the coercive laws of modern competition, robbed shamefully of time and wages, beaten into poverty and death by the manipulation of corporations, until we have the masses of suffering, shivering poor on the one side, and the classes of the immensely wealthy magnates on the other side,—would it be right, we ask, under such conditions for the awakened people to take possession of the billions of dollars that have been filched from them by the unjust tyranny of the masters? We answer that it would be right if fair compensation were given for the property thus taken, and doubly right if the general public good demands it, but certainly not right in many cases for the public to seize private property without fair compensation. It is not right to take from a man what belongs to him just because you have the power to do so; but, if you can show that the man has taken what he possesses unjustly from somebody else then a higher authority has the right to equalize matters. It is painfully true that certain captains of industry have piled up their millions by following questionable tactics of business, using at times unchristian methods to freeze out all competition. This means that they have violated the law of righteousness to pile up a greater part of their wealth. Now, would it be right for the highest authority in our nation or the government itself to take from the guilty and innocent alike, their possessions and hold them for the common use and good of everybody? If a thing like this were to happen the smaller owners would suffer in proportion just as much as the larger ones, for indeed the man who owns his humble home esteems it as preciously as the millionaire can esteem his vast aggregation of wealth.

While at first thought the Public Seizure measure appears unjust, it nevertheless has some elements of propriety. We believe that the best method of all is the one which we will next consider.

IV.—PRIVILEGE METHOD.

This method resembles the Public Seizure method in the first stages of its operation. It means that the government shall take possession of everything in the line of industries, and that the owners shall be granted special privileges during their natural life, according to the value of the industries from which they have been relieved.

If it were true that all the accumulated wealth of the country were gathered by unscrupulous or questionable methods, we would have no hesitancy in advocating a clear-cut Public Seizure method, but this is not true, for many of the men of smaller and larger wealth have obtained their possessions by manifold sacrifices and a conscientious devotion to duty, and, for that reason, we believe that some recognition should be taken of a man's worthy endeavors. Suppose the public would give such a man, in return for his accumulated wealth, the privilege of working at option, or to be idle at option. Would it not be perfectly fair? We believe that the great majority of this kind of men, if they were granted special privileges and free support, would render valuable service to Society, as the outgrowth of their own free choice. It is unthinkable that a man of energy and genius could be content to be an idle loafer on the lap of Society. We feel like guaranteeing that the great majority of such persons would render as much service as the Co-operative Commonwealth would demand, as the average amount of work to be performed by each individual.

What more should any millionaire ask than to be granted the privilege of having an easy time with his family all the rest of his life, receiving his comforts and luxuries in return for what the public has taken from him. If the millionaire should find fault, he can be reminded that perhaps a great part of his possessions have come to him by the exploitation of labor or by the pursuance of unchristian-like methods. Suppose the millionaire has children; would it not be far better for Society that these children should perform their portions of the work at whatever calling their fitness may suggest and public necessity may demand, than for them to be loafers or idlers, which, in itself, is one of the worst evils that can befall any individual?

Why need we further elaborate upon any one or more of the methods that should be adopted in order to get possession of our industries? When the day comes that the cause of Social Reform is triumphant at the ballot box, the people of that day will no doubt have better judgment on these matters than we now have, and therefore they will be much more able to decide which is the best course to adopt. Let us not spend needless time in trying to answer questions too far in advance. When a child is injured get the doctor as soon as possible, do not stop to argue and debate what the doctor will do, or how he might apply the medicine. Let such future contingencies go until the physician arrives. Whatever you can do in the meantime to alleviate the suffering of the afflicted one and make it easier for the physician to do his work when he arrives, do it with dispatch and neatness. So we say to all who try to slander the cause of Social Reform. What we want is the physician,—the means at hand to cure, and when that comes, no doubt the medicine can be applied.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Proper Spurs UNDER SOCIAL REFORM

We have shown in the preceding chapters that competition with all its evils has nevertheless been instrumental in developing the human race. It has urged individual effort to its highest point, and has brought to all people the blessings of invention and the perfecting of mechanical appliances, in addition to the individual and national discipline, that has resulted from mental and physical application. Many a man has worked himself to death thinking of the thousands or millions of dollars he would reap as the result of some great invention he was trying to produce. We do not recommend that a man should work himself to death, but we do say that from this class of toilers, who have burned the midnight oil, the world has received its greatest blessings.

When Social Reform is inaugurated, competition, as we see it to-day, will be largely a thing of the past. The people will be guaranteed a living under all circumstances, and no one need fear that the sheriff will approach, nor that the pangs of hunger will be felt as long as the earth can produce enough to feed all the people. It is argued that, as a result of these conditions, there will be a great check to inventive genius and to educational advancement, and therefore the question naturally arises, what will take the place of competition as a spur to urge human genius and endeavor to reach the highest possible plane of achievement?

Under any system of economics the most hopeless of all people are those who have no desire to better their condition, and who seem to be satisfied with their present attainments. Men and women with great possibilities have allowed themselves to go to seed by falling back into the loathsome lap of natural depravity. They belong to the class of people who simply live to eat and again eat to live. There are millions of such stars that have fallen in the blackness of night forever, who, under the ruling power of a pure ambition to stir them into activity, could have excelled in glorious brightness even unto this day. On the other hand, the most hopeful class of people are those who are not satisfied with their present state. They are ever anxious to become nobler, or become better equipped, so that they shall either be of more service in the world, or better able to earn a livelihood. The Social Reform pessimist advocates that this latter class of people will be reduced to the level of the first class mentioned, when once the powerful spur of competition is eliminated. We wish to say to all such dyspeptics that their mental conception is weak and faulty, if they so anticipate what will be realized under the reign of Social Reform.

Can it be true that under the reign of the Co-operative Commonwealth there will be no spurs to urge humanity onward? We answer by saying that there will be as many spurs as the people will wish to have, and we believe that greater things will be done in the new kingdom to come than were ever accomplished under the long and cruel reign of competition. First of all, people will be born and reared better, and better hygienic conditions will prevail everywhere. We will have a race of stronger men and women. Many of the bright intellects that have dropped into oblivion under our present grinding systems of industry, would have shone brightly in the firmament of their native glory, if equal opportunity had been offered to all.

In the coming golden age of Social Reform, there will be means adopted whereby any person who renders special service for humanity will be signally rewarded. There can be eight or ten kinds of medals each ranging in order of merit from the lowest to the highest, and when a person is granted any one of these medals by the order of human Society, or its representatives, it will mean more to that person in the new age than wealth could have possibly meant to him at the present time. A person who studies out a great invention and it appeals to the chosen representatives of the people as such, can be given one of the highest medals of honor, which will entitle him to a life-long vacation from all the restraints that Society would otherwise place upon him. He can then engage in such pursuits as he chooses, working only when he pleases, and traveling where he wishes at the expense of Society. It can be made a lawful custom for such persons to wear their medals so that one by doing so, would not need to appear vain or presumptuous.

Some one may object by saying that a system of medals will prove to be an evil just like a system of titles. We answer by saying that the tendency in this direction will not be as strong as it is under our present order of economics, and if the people are foolish enough to abuse the medal privilege, they will be obliged to suffer their abuses until they are remedied. If the medal privilege is abused, it can be made more difficult for one to receive this honor, thereby granting a less number of medals. No two medals will be alike; there can be just as many forms to be awarded as may be deemed best for the welfare of Society, and each one will stand for a distinct line of privileges to be enjoyed by the individual holding it.

Another spur under the reign of Social Reform, will be along the line of educational advancement. Persons who excel by reason of laborious study or intrinsic worth, can be honored with the more trustworthy work of Society, and can be given the educational medal that will stand for special privileges. The aim to occupy the more honored positions of Society will be a spur more effective than most people imagine. It is perfectly proper that if a person study hard and long, and thereby fulfill certain educational requirements, he should be rewarded with one of the positions of honor. Some persons must necessarily fill such positions, and why should they not be given to those who have fitted themselves best for this work? This policy would bring the richest fruits to Society, and would be a splendid means of rewarding merit.

In the glorious coming kingdom of the Co-operative Commonwealth, honor will take the place of wealth, and in many more instances the love of service will take the place of grim necessity. It will be much more likely that people will enjoy work when the slavish aspect has been taken away, and when it is no longer regarded as a disgrace.

Another spur under Social Reform will be the recreation feature. It will be possible for any man or woman who has lived in good behavior, and performed his or her share of the work to enjoy the privileges of travel at certain seasons of the year. Every worker will be allowed a month's vacation each year, to say nothing of the shorter periods of rest that will be interspersed throughout the year. This month's vacation can be spent in any distant part of the country, for every worker will be entitled annually to a specified number of miles of free transportation over the national railway, and if he wishes to take his wife and family with him, he can either draw upon his credit that has accumulated, or he can wait until sufficient mileage is due him, and in this manner the workingman with his family can spend a few weeks traveling over the country. This is not a wild dream, although it reads like one. It ought to be possible for any man to enjoy privileges of this character, and if the hundreds and millions of dollars that are flowing into the treasuries of the great corporations, were shared by the ones who work to create this wealth, it would mean less labor and more recreation for all.

This is a mighty spur that the average worker of the present age does not enjoy. He must grind away at his severe tasks, and, when pay day comes, it requires all his earnings to pay the rent, grocery bill and other expenses that have been incurred since his last pay day; and, in millions of instances, the poor workers can count themselves fortunate if they have enough money to meet all the natural expenses necessary for the support of their families. What encouragement has any one of these men? They are robbed of their liberty in a free land, for they must go to work early and return late. I met a poor father a short time ago, who told me that he did not see his children from Sunday until Sunday; he was obliged to go to work before they were out of bed, and return home after they had gone to bed; and then very frequently his employer demanded him to work on Sunday. What could the poor man do? It was a position at which he had learned how to make enough money to support his family, and his continued attention to this particular work had, in a measure, incapacitated him for other work. You may call such a man as free as you wish, but, in our opinion, he is the meanest kind of a slave, with a galling yoke around his neck, a cruel object lesson of the present wicked system of greedy competition.

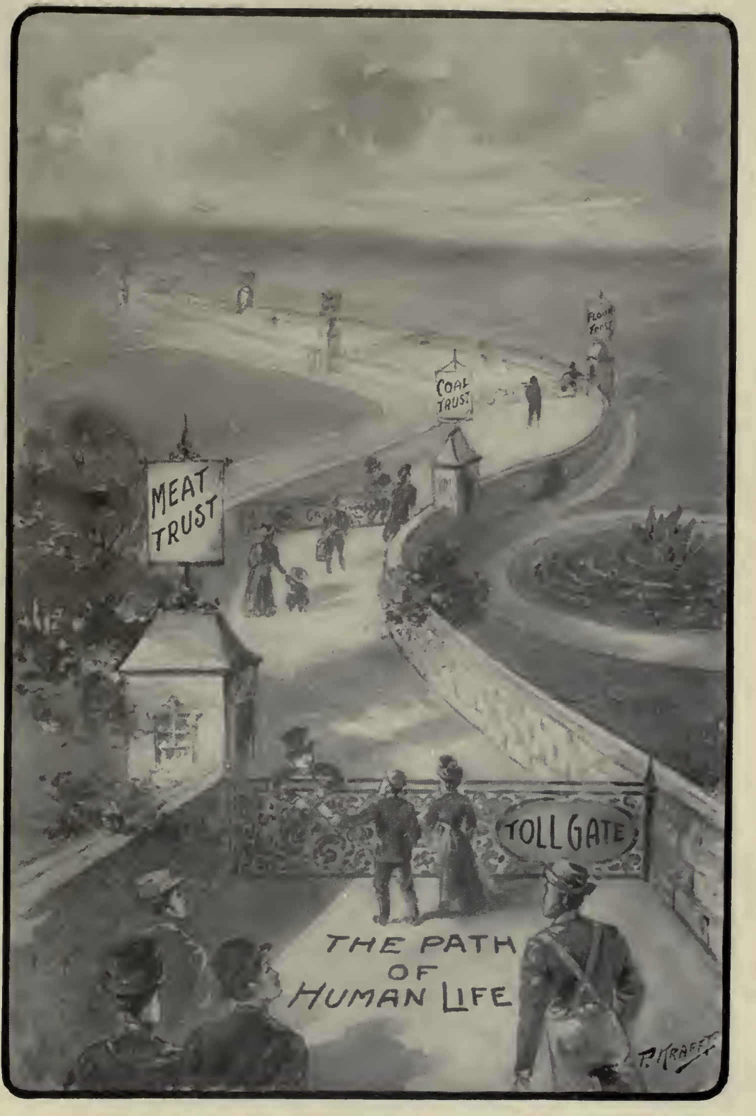
Under Social Reform, the worker will not be required to toil more than six or seven hours a day, and, by doing so, he will be entitled to enough to support himself and family decently, and to enjoy enough of the luxuries to afford happiness and contentment for all. Such a worker will then feel as if he were a human being, with a crown of honor and dignity upon his head, instead of being a common tool of greed and a living fool of need.

We wish to have it clearly understood that these blessings can only come to humanity providing the power and influence of the Christian Church is not relegated to the rear. No people living in the midst of sinful and reckless conditions can expect to be happy and prosperous under the most favorable economic conditions. The Church of Jesus Christ on earth must have full sway, just as complete as it ever has had. We are not talking of some ideal condition of righteousness on earth; that would spoil the argument of all the chapters in this book. We are only asking that Christianity be given its rightful place and be allowed to operate with all the freedom possible; and even if it does not accomplish any more than it is accomplishing now, all the conditions that we have promised for Social Reform can be fully and easily realized. We would also clearly state that during the continuance of the present Gospel age, while the two forces of Sin and Evil are operating in the world, the time will never come when the possibility of all trouble will be avoided.

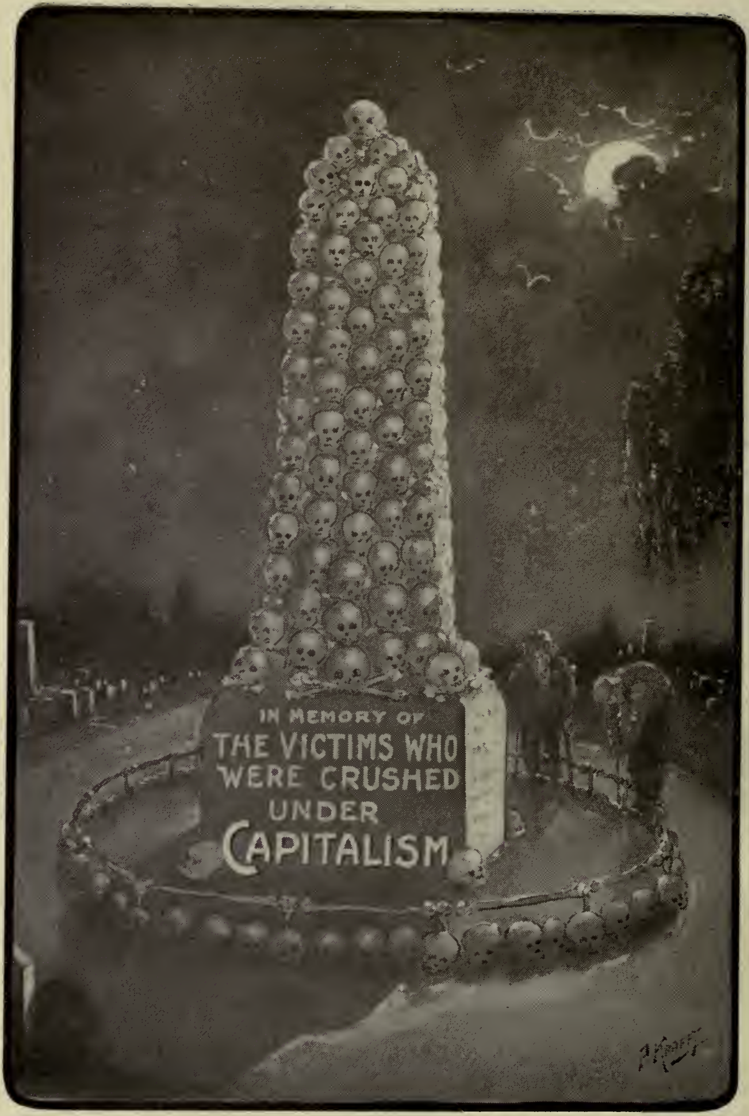
With all the spurs that are urging men and women onward, the greatest of all is the spur of righteous deeds resulting from the new birth of Christ in the soul of the individual. It is remarkable how men and women who are thus born anew, are urged onward to a noble life, to the accomplishment of still greater things, for the uplifting of humanity. This line of action has been the bright side of the world's history throughout the stormy ages of the past. The world wonders what power sends the thousands of missionaries away from the comforts and luxuries of American homes, to live in dirty hovels, and sacrifice even their lives for the sake of educating, enlightening and

Christianizing the heathens of the earth. It is the spur of all spurs that moves them onward; it is the miracle of all miracles in every age of the world, and is still manifesting itself in the hearts and lives of millions of people. What other force has uplifted mankind outside of this? Name any agency you wish, and you will find it to be the outgrowth of Christian endeavor, somehow or somewhere; and we can expect that, to the same extent that people will become subject to the higher laws of God, and obedient to the will of God, they shall enjoy the temporal blessings of life, and complete the circle of happiness in their life on earth.

We doubt not that critics will always be able to pick flaws with any condition of economics under which we do or may live. We need not be unduly influenced by the habitual fault-finder, for it is clearly evident that some have even criticised Christianity unfavorably, and have tried to upset the holy Bible with its doctrines of Heaven and Hell. If men are bold enough to deny such fundamental truths and facts, we need not be surprised to hear many foolish criticisms and objections offered against the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth, which is to redeem man socially as Christ has redeemed him spiritually.


MEAT TRUST
COAL TRUST
FLOUR TRUST
TOLL GATE
THE PATH OF HUMAN LIFE
P. KRAFFT

THE PATH OF HUMAN LIFE.—This is the path we all must travel and pay our daily toll to one trust after another. The burden is becoming unbearable and it must come to an end.


IN MEMORY OF
THE VICTIMS WHO
WERE CRUSHED
UNDER
CAPITALISM
P. KRAFFT

MONUMENT OF SKULLS.—When the battle between Capital and Labor is over, such a gruesome monument will be a suitable memorial. Two old survivors have come to shed a few more tears in memory of the cruel age of competition.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A General Glimpse

In the preceding twenty-eight chapters we have given a brief description of our economic conditions and have suggested a remedy. We cannot expect that a person prejudiced in favor of Capitalism will accept and promulgate the teachings throughout this book; but, if he would, with an unbiased mind, carefully study the whole subject of economics, he would no longer be dead to the suffering of the masses and the heartlessness of the higher classes. He would then be more inclined to champion the cause of Labor, and lay bare the iniquitous schemes hatched out under the cover of Monopoly and Greed.

Surely the reader will not question the accuracy of the first chapter in the book, for it is altogether too apparent that the statements contained therein are true. The fight of the workingmen to secure their rights is the most stubborn of all the contests in the world. The facts and conditions that are being brought to light during this great Capital and Labor struggle, present the most alarming conditions and will precipitate a most direful calamity if proper settlement is not effected.

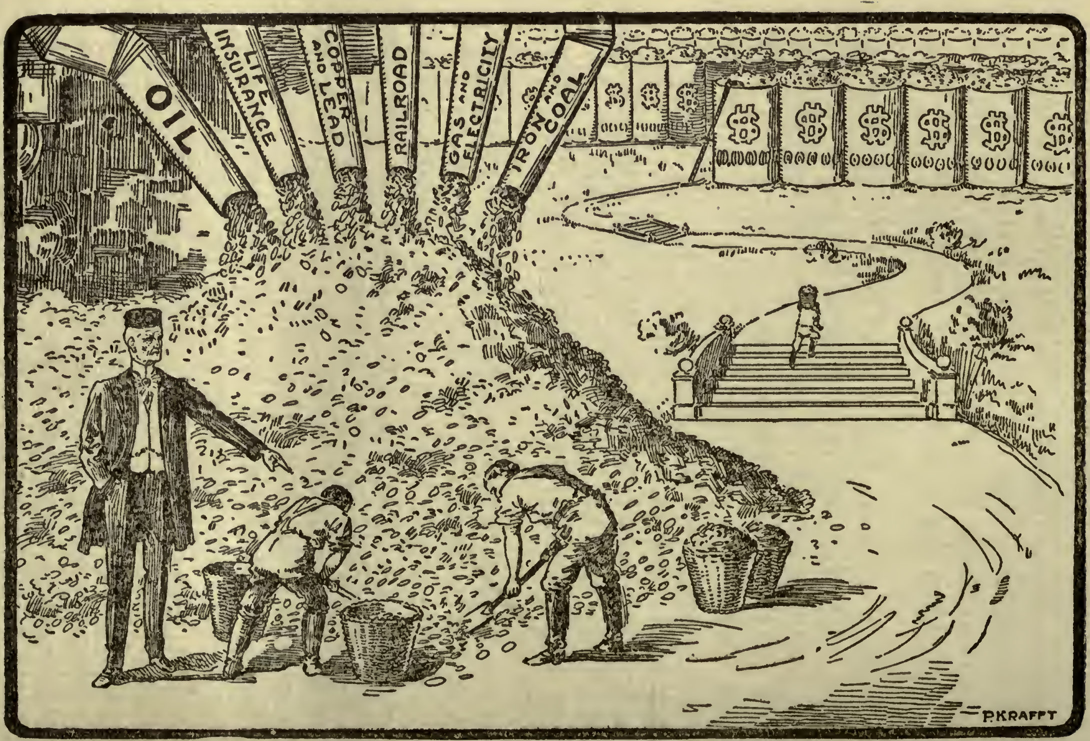
Concerning the second and third chapters, there can be no objections raised. Labor was early dragged into disrepute by the unkindness of man to man under the influence of sin, and the great duty of humanity now is to separate Labor and disgrace forever. The advance toward liberty has been indeed a long and severe struggle, and has agitated every period of the world's history; and now the most important crisis is at hand. We do not hesitate to say that the Co-operative Commonwealth will give the surest and safest deliverance to the fettered millions of our land to-day.

Any reader familiar with statistics will hardly deny the facts contained in chapters four and five, where we have given a description of the condition of the skilled and unskilled laborers. Even before this book went to press, we heard words of appreciation from those who chanced to read the manuscript of these chapters. In our consideration of the more unfortunate classes of people, we endeavored to be fair. If we had gone to the one extreme and desired to present pictures of the darkest horror, we would have multiplied tenfold our descriptions of the wretchedness and terror that have come to humanity as the fruits of greed and competition.

From chapters six to ten inclusive, we have given a faithful statement of the several great causes that have led to the general discontent among workingmen. The reader can do as he wishes in believing or doubting the truthfulness of these chapters, but he cannot brush aside the real facts as we see them in the daily life of our American workingmen. Facts are more convincing than all theories, and if you read these five chapters of Labor's discontent, you will find that we have held strictly to conditions as they prevail.

Whatever we have said in this book on the subject of Monopoly in chapters ten and eleven, or in any other part of the book, we believe is an honest presentation of the whole subject, and, of necessity, very briefly considered. We are just beginning to see the fearful power of money, for its curse is coming upon us with increasing ratio. The scenes of the past twenty years have been almost dramatic, and both the moderately and the immensely rich ought to help solve this problem for the present and for future generations.

If the masses of people will not awake to the situation and take radical action, the prophecy of chapter twelve will come to pass, and we will go down to ruin as we deserve. This brings us to ask in the language of the subject of chapter thirteen, "Why are the Wrongs not Righted?" This is considered by some of our friends as one of the most reasonable chapters in the book. It places the blame of our present conditions at the right place. Some radical reformers will not like this chapter very much, just because it searches after the real truth, and does not heap flaming condemnation on the Monopolists. The question has often come into our minds, "How many people would continue in poverty if they had the chance to be rich?" It has always seemed inconsistent to us that the one who cannot get wealth should curse the one who has been able to attain it. In all this we do not


OIL
LIFE INSURANCE
COPPER AND LEAD
RAILROAD
GAS AND ELECTRICITY
IRON AND COAL
P. KRAFFT

MOUNTAIN OF MONEY.—It is time to call a halt when the income of one man is so great that he could not handle it himself in cold cash, while the income of his workers is not enough to keep them decently alive.

wish to be misunderstood; it is not our purpose to wink at the methods used to gain riches; but we do wish to say clearly, that the present system of competition, and an insatiable human greed, are the two great powers that are mainly responsible for the wretched contrasts in Society to-day.

In chapters fourteen and fifteen, we have outlined the history and the work of the labor unions, and have shown what an important factor they have been and are in elevating the mass of workers. They have overcome many internal and external difficulties, and will, no doubt, stay in the conflict until the battle is over. It is true that, in many localities, much evil has resulted from the work of organized Labor, yet it must be admitted that the general uprising of Labor had proved to be a very effective force in fighting against the heartless and crushing greed of Monopoly. It has prevented the total enslavement of the masses, so that it is now possible for them to strike off their shackles forever.

Chapters sixteen to twenty inclusive form an important section of the book. Here we have considered the remedies that have been suggested or tried in order to cure the ills of Society, and thereby extend to all people the natural liberties and blessings that God intended they should enjoy. We have given a long and careful study to the several remedies proposed in these chapters. Concerning our opinion of the rash remedies, we refer you to chapter sixteen. The remedies described in chapters seventeen, eighteen and nineteen are all partial in their effect, and some of them are worthy of consideration. In chapters twenty and twenty-one, we find the rays of hope, and, no doubt, we will be misunderstood by many readers in saying this. We therefore ask your attention to some words of explanation in regard to Socialism and its followers. There is a low class of Socialists who are mostly free-thinking infidels and reckless conservators of thought. These have done much to dishonor a good movement, and have caused many of the noble minded to scorn at Socialism altogether. The difficulty of all good reforms is that some classes of people dash ahead into an ultra radicalism, and thereby do more harm than good.

There is also a reputable class of Socialists, who have intelligently surveyed the whole Social question, and are faithfully striving to create public sentiment in favor of Socialism. Some of these are Christian and some are not, although Christian Socialism will be the ultimate platform. Perhaps the best terms to be employed as descriptive of an ideal system of economics, would be the Co-operative Commonwealth. But it is needless to offer an apology for the word Socialism; the word itself is very good, and is perhaps the best that can be used in connection with the reform for which so many true-hearted men and women are praying to-day. If we can get this reform in line with the lofty teaching of Jesus Christ, it does not matter very much what word is used. In the preceding chapters we have frequently used the term Social Reform to indicate the coming period of industrial equality. By the reading of these few lines, the reader will understand why so many different terms are used interchangeably, if he has not understood it before.

In chapters twenty-two, twenty-three and twenty-four, we have outlined some of the blessings that will be enjoyed by humanity when the golden period of Social Reform is inaugurated. To these chapters we invite the most careful attention of the reader; for they are suggestive more than exhaustive; and the best of all they are practical instead of fanciful. It is hard to form a full picture of the transformed conditions of human Society when the fearful losses of competition are eliminated, and when all the surplus labor is thrown into producing channels. In our ignorance we boast of our advancement to-day, and yet we are doing business as a nation in the most unbusinesslike manner, and with the most wasteful methods. Read carefully the three chapters above noted before you charge us with being pessimistic. We admit that we are greatly in advance as a nation over any other former period of our existence; but compared with what we might or should be, we are far in the rear. Chapter twenty-four alone, gives a picture of our blighted industrial life, and in that chapter we make some attempt to picture the fearful waste due to our present grinding life of competition in business. We do not pause to think of these things; nearly all facts of this kind are revelations to us. Just as needless as the fifth wheel on the ordinary wagon, are all the lines of waste labor outlined in this twenty-fourth chapter. Who would care, if this loss of time and labor did not affect the great mass of workers? They are the ones who are made the slaves by reason of these sinful and far-reaching losses. When we take the broom of Social Reform and brush down all these darksome cobwebs, there will soon be a purer atmosphere, and the incoming of a greater flood of light, and consequently greater happiness will prevail everywhere.

Who will not welcome the period when the aged and unfortunate will be duly respected? Just as we were writing this chapter, we lifted the daily paper and read that the aged inmates of a certain county poorhouse were dying of neglect and starvation. There were aged fathers and mothers who were unfortunate enough to outlive their children, or, perchance, to suffer the disgrace of having heartless children, were now at the cold mercy of an almshouse, controlled by brutal and heartless managers. We will all welcome the day when the aged will live in the finest buildings and receive the best attention, and when they will not be considered as burdens, but may feel that they are really our fathers and our mothers. And likewise will we all rejoice when the tramp nuisance shall have been settled; there will be no want or tramps under Social Reform. They seem to be inevitable under our present order.

And will it not be a day of great rejoicing when nobody can have a motive for adulterating foods of any kind, or producing inferior articles of manufacture? Do not say we are dreaming! We are talking in the soberness of our souls. We are speaking a truth that will burn its way, some day, to the front. We need not here repeat all the blessings enumerated in the three chapters above cited, for we presume that a person reading this chapter has already read those chapters. We will spend no time on the important chapter, numbered twenty-five, entitled, "Christ and Social Reform," for it covers such a distinct field, that to review it, would be to repeat practically the entire chapter. We would urge upon the reader, who may have passed over that chapter lightly, to consider it with careful thought. It reveals the attitude of the greatest teacher that ever lived, regarding the economic conditions under which Society may enjoy its greatest blessings.

Chapter twenty-six, considers the all-important question of how to get Social Reform. Turn back a few pages and read this chapter, if you have not already done so, and you will find that we believe in the stepping-stones of progress. This is a practical field in which we may all work. Let us therefore do what we can in any local effort, such as attempts to secure Municipal Ownership; and also, let us not forsake political efforts that are being advanced and supported in the interests of Social Reform. We regret that according to past occurrences and present indications, it does not appear that the masses of laboring men can expect to get relief during the reign of either one of the great political parties of to-day.

For the satisfaction of those who look ahead for trouble, we have written chapter twenty-seven, to show that it is possible for the government to get possession of our industries. We have not carried this phase of the subject to its many results. There are hundreds of questions that arise, and to consider them all would require another volume; and, for that reason, we have simply hinted at the manner in which the transformation can take place, and we must depend on the good sense and good judgment of the people who are happy enough to win the victory against Monopoly, to inaugurate a system of economics that will be adequate, and as complete as can be obtained by the best wisdom of the people.

We need not say anything further concerning chapter twenty-eight just preceding this one. It overcomes the most serious criticism that has been offered against the Co-operative Commonwealth. If the greatest difficulties can be so easily overcome, it is needless that we enter upon a long and tedious discussion of the probable manner in which the lesser difficulties might be overcome. Other writers have prophesied at length concerning the details of the Co-operative Commonwealth; they have told us to a nicety just how things will be managed, and how everybody will be happy. Their theories may be correct or they may be false; to us it makes but little difference as to the smaller details. When a man buys a house he can arrange the furniture to suit himself. The thing that interests us most is the settling of the great points at issue, such as we have covered in this book; and if these wrongs are adjusted, and if the causes of our present economic ills are swept away, then the happy results will follow, just as the day follows the night.

When the war is over, and the din of battle no longer disturbs a peace-loving people, what will be the opinion of that fortunate generation as it reviews the past? It will most naturally regard our present Capitalistic system as the second of the Dark Ages in which day and night mingled in strange confusion. You have no doubt seen the picture in this book, with its monuments of skulls rising heavenward. We admit that the picture is fanciful more than realistic, but it tells its own story of our present Capitalistic system; when crime walks in broadcloth and silks, and chastity is too often robed in rags. These skulls also speak of untold crimes committed in the name of decency, crimes as black as any midnight of the world's history. These skulls also tell their ominous tales of the woe and wretchedness, of the misery and death that comes to countless numbers of the human race, all laid low under the grinding wheels of poverty, greed, competition and Monopoly. The question arises from the murmuring masses of to-day, "Will humanity ever be free?" and the answer comes to us from the brave sons and daughters of the whole nation, as they are rapidly awakening from the sleep of ages: "We shall be free at last, for the chains must fall from more than four times four millions of industrial slaves."

We feel like exclaiming after the style of the great Apostle, O Competition, where is thy sting! O Monopoly, where is thy victory! And the answer will come, they have been taken away by the help of God, and by the outstretched arms of the millions who clamored for deliverance from the fearful bondage.

THE END.

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